

The Nation

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The Week

WITH the arrival of German and Austrian troops at Odessa, the Central Powers will be in touch with some of Russia's stored-up wheat, if any supplies exist; for Odessa is the one Russian city fairly well equipped with grain elevators. It remains to be discovered, however, how much wheat is there. The idea of an unprecedentedly large reserve of grain in Russia is pretty much exploded; it was based on certain very absurd trade estimates which pictured Russia, in the face of a breakdown of transportation, a depleted labor market, and blockade of the export trade, which frequently absorbed one-third of her peace-time wheat crops, raising in all the war years as large harvests as before. The strong probability is that Russian wheat production has been steadily and rapidly diminishing—a presumption which the known food famine in the Russian cities quite bears out. Even if production had continued large, there are no storage facilities for more than a moderate amount.

BROOMHALL, the Liverpool grain trade expert, estimated last week that northern Russia is bare of supplies and that the Ukraine may have 40,000,000 bushels. Even this figure must in the nature of the case be largely guesswork. Supposing it to be correct, only a part could be stored up in Odessa. Chicago, the largest of all grain-storing centres, has elevator capacity for no more than 55,000,000 bushels, and Odessa's capacity is much smaller. Furthermore, it must be remembered that we are now approaching the end of the grain-marketing season of southern Russia, and of a season of famine demand at that. Forty million bushels would not go far towards feeding Russia herself between now and the July harvest. The country's own consumption of wheat in a single month in time of peace ran close to that figure.

“THE Armenians are resisting our advance” is the official formula of hypocrisy under which the Turks have taken up again the job of exterminating the Armenians. Owing to the Russian army's capture of Erzerum and Erzingan early in the war, the Turks had to leave this congenial task unfinished. Six hundred thousand Armenians out of 1,600,000 still survived. Naturally, now as then, mothers resist to save their children; husbands, brothers, and fathers resist to save their women from the ravisher. Happy those that die resisting in this fashion. For merely to die is not the most terrible misfortune, but to fall alive into Turkish hands is worse than death. And what of Germany that formerly professed great pity for the Armenians, and maintained that the first massacres were perpetrated without her knowledge and continued in spite of her protests? The mask of this hypocrisy has also been stripped off at last. The Germans, by their peace arrangement with Russia, have deliberately turned over what is left of the Armenian nation to be destroyed by the Turk. Every murder, every outrage committed on this helpless race now becomes the crime of the German Government.

AMERICANS should cherish no illusions concerning the state of popular thought and feeling in the Central Powers. Military success and territorial conquest are in no way favorable to sober thinking. Yet we should do less than justice to our own cause if we failed to take note of the voices that are raised in Germany and Austria in opposition to the Government policy of plunder and spoliation. The Vienna correspondent of the *Tijd* says: “Despite peace with Russia and in contrast with the diplomatic world, the feeling among the people of Vienna continues pessimistic. Pan-Germans, in forcing events, are severely condemned.” The *Frankfurter Zeitung* considers that the breaking up of Russia into a number of independent states is a bad policy for Germany, and the military critic of the *Vossische Zeitung* says, “Only the most limited intelligence can believe that the break-up of Russia will be to Germany's advantage.” Says *Vorwärts*, “The course pursued in the East is not ours, and we warned the Government against taking it.” The *Berliner Tageblatt* boldly challenges von Hertling, who accepted Wilson's second principle, that peoples are not to be bartered about from sovereign to sovereign, to “explain just what differences exist between the political methods of the past and those of to-day.” It complains that “the German Reichstag is informed of coming changes, but not until the matter has been settled without it.” The President's diplomacy has been steadily directed to the stipulation of such sane and critical thinking of the Teutonic peoples, and we may derive some encouragement for his ultimate success from the fact that these voices are not stilled even by the intoxication of military success on the eastern front.

EVERY Swedish schoolboy thinks that the day of Sweden's glory was when the Baltic was almost a Swedish lake, and when Courland, Livonia, the mouth of the Neva, and Finland were all Swedish territory. Narva, which the Germans covet for its water-power, is one of the proudest battle names in Swedish history. One of the chief Swedish grievances against Russia was the latter's failure to keep a promise not to fortify the Alands; and now the Alands are in Germany's grip. Another grievance was the Russian strategic railroads built or projected through Finland, and Finland also is falling into Germany's hand. It was not because the Swedes loved the Germans, whom they caricatured and sneered at as did other neighbors of Germany, but because they feared the Russians, that they have always seemed pro-German. It will be strange if we do not now see a reversal of this Swedish attitude, and the nation drawn into a closer harmony with Denmark and Norway. They, though under the same shadow of German might, have kept their independence of soul.

IT does not add to the prestige of a British Premier that repeatedly he should be under the need of defending himself against the charge of conspiring with the Northcliffe press against members of his own Government and against British war leaders. Monday's debate in the House of Commons did not lead to an actual test of strength between Lloyd George and his critics. Mr. Asquith remains faith-

ful to his patriotic conception of duty in not precipitating a Government crisis. He contented himself with an admonition which Lloyd George must reckon with. For that matter, it is not from Asquith alone that criticism has come. Unrest over the Northcliffe connection is general. Austen Chamberlain, in accepting the Premier's explanations, dwelt on the "very unhappy and unfortunate coincidence that when certain papers attacked particular servants of the Government, shortly afterwards the Government found it impossible to continue these servants in office." Nor is it altogether to the point when Lloyd George insists on Northcliffe's preëminent qualifications for the post of chief of propaganda. It is not the Northcliffe talent, but the Northcliffe point of view, that comes into question. If the spirit of Northcliffe propaganda and its insight into realities are to be judged from the attitude of the London *Times* during the last months of the Kerensky régime in Russia, it is obvious that a happier choice might have been made than the owner of the *Times* and the *Daily Mail*.

THE difference between what we may call the cheerful view of the shipping problem, as represented by Sir Eric Geddes, and the pessimistic view, as represented by the House of Commons critics like Commander Bellairs, or shipowners like Messrs. Holt, Lambert, and Sir John Ellerman, arises over two issues. In the first place, the weekly figures given out by the Admiralty are rejected as an indication of the tonnage lost. In the second place, these submarine sinkings take no account of ordinary marine casualties, which have been, of course, abnormally heavy in war times, with ships running in mined waters, without lights, and pressed to the utmost of endurance. Taking up the submarine sinkings, we have the statement made by Commander Bellairs that the weekly sinkings in February were 80,000 tons, instead of the 60,000 tons which we should obtain by multiplying the number of ships lost in the Admiralty statements by 4,500 tons for every ship over 1,600 tons. The *Tribune*, accepting the Bellairs figures, argues that we must raise our coefficient per ship to 6,000 tons. To this the answer is that we must know what authority Bellairs has for his figures. If the Government is regarded as under the temptation to belittle its losses, we know enough of human nature to understand that a critic of the Government is under the opposite temptation. This much we know: that Mr. G. Lambert was foremost among those who accused the Government last year of minimizing its ship losses. Yet at the end of the year Mr. Lambert asserted that "last year we lost something like 3,500,000 tons." Multiplying the Admiralty figures of ships lost by 4,500 tons, we obtain a little over 3,300,000 tons.

AS to losses from marine casualty, we have the sobering statement of the head of the Ellerman lines that the losses from shipwreck during the war are probably equal to the total of new ship construction. A statement from such a source is presumably authoritative. Yet when we come to test its validity, we encounter very serious doubts. Shipbuilding in Great Britain has been as follows:

	Tons.
1915.....	650,000
1916.....	619,000
1917.....	1,164,000
Total.....	2,433,000

Add to these figures 600,000 tons out of the 1,683,000 tons built in 1914—allowance for the five war months of 1914—and we get for British shipbuilding during the war 3,000,000 tons in round numbers. Now, in the year 1908 the marine casualties for British ships were 253,000 tons. For the year 1912 they were 281,000 tons. Say that the marine losses during the war have been doubled, or roughly 600,000 tons a year, and the losses for the war would be a little over 2,000,000 tons, or just two-thirds of the Ellerman estimate. For that estimate to be true the losses should have been three times the normal loss in peace times.

UNANIMOUS passage by the Senate of legislation authorizing the sale of all property in the United States owned by enemies abroad is simply the newest evidence of the process by which the commercial interests of the Central Powers, outside their battle-lines, are threatened with being crushed out. From Brazil to China, and Alaska to New Zealand, economic weapons are being employed to the utmost; while German national wealth is being reduced within the Fatherland, on the outside it is being destroyed. The United States has shown by such measures as the Presidential proclamation of January 26, placing all foreign exchange transactions affecting American interests under the control of the Federal Reserve Board, and by its exports and imports control, its power to deal with German industry in even neutral countries. The new legislation will be a severe economic blow. As Senator Martin said, this and the property already seized will not go back to the Germans till "after they have compensated the American people for the millions—I would even say billions—of dollars' worth of property they have ruthlessly destroyed."

"GAG" is the description applied to the War Department's new rule for publishing, without the home address, the names of soldiers killed or wounded. Yet the action was taken at the request of the French military authorities, and the Senate Military Committee is content to wait for explanations from the War Department. The next of kin are to have telegraphic notice from the War Department before the casualty lists are made public. There remains the possible unnecessary anxiety caused to other relatives and friends, but against this must be balanced the judgment of the French and our own military authorities. If all of our divisions were organized on the basis of the Rainbow Division with men from all over the country, a series of American home addresses would not absolutely identify for the Germans the units facing them on any particular front. But we know that our troops on the Tuscania originated from a fairly small section of the country; and it is not likely that in the full development of our army the regional factor can be avoided. It is not an occasion for crying out against gags and censors. The matter is under careful study by the Administration, and the new rule may be modified.

IF Congress turned as often to Roman precedent as did the fathers of the republic, the Daylight-Saving bill would have passed long ago; for the Romans were confirmed daylight-savers. As a Pittsburgh professor of the classics points out, the Romans divided daylight into twelve equal "hours," which naturally varied with the time of year from about 45 to about 75 minutes. The occupations of the day being arranged with reference to the sunrise, daylight-saving adjusted itself automatically to the season. The Roman

who began work with the fourth hour would, on the longest day of the year, when the sun rose at about 4:50 A. M. and set at 7:50 P. M., reach his *officina* at 8:35; on the shortest day, when it rose at 7:40 A. M. and set about 5 P. M., he would be there about 9:50. Thus was accomplished a saving in summer of an hour and a quarter. In point of fact, the Romans were inveterate early risers before the decadence set in, and often commenced the day's work with the first hour, so as to have a long free afternoon. One of Peacock's clergymen was once reproached by his wife for believing in no rule of conduct that could not be supported by a quotation twenty centuries old. "Indeed," he replied, "there is nothing very good that has not that great age to recommend it."

FOR a candidate who is running on a "loyalty" platform, Congressman Lenroot is finding his record a bit awkward. He points to his vote on the Armed Neutrality bill, the declaration of war with Germany, and the Conscription act as marking a profound difference between him and La Follette, but is not upon such easy ground when asked about his attitude towards the McLeMore resolution. In spite of President Wilson's letter to Congressman Pou, urging an early vote upon the resolution "with regard to travel on armed merchantmen," with the implication that passage of the resolution would be a notice to the world that Congress did not stand with the President in his foreign policy, Lenroot voted for the resolution. He explains that upon some things he has changed his mind. It may be said "with some truth," he admits, that he did this with reference to an embargo upon munitions. But he "only exercised the privilege that President Wilson has exercised, not once, but many times, upon questions relating to the war." This is not the most desirable position for a candidate in Lenroot's shoes, but the voters are being urged to decide upon his present professions. How could he foresee that he would be running for the Senate on a Stand-by-the-President platform? The exigencies of politics cannot always be anticipated.

ONE good result that comes out of war is the increased attention it calls to the necessity for proper physical development of all the people. Almost every man under forty in Great Britain has been examined by the army doctors since the Derby recruiting scheme went into effect. The results have been summarized in a report just issued, which happily, according to cable advices, does not appear to be of an alarmist character. "On the whole, the physical development of the British man was good, but something was always lacking; the want showed chiefly in height and weight," says the report. It points out the serious economic loss due to premature aging caused by incomplete development, bad habits, and monotony of labor, and it recommends compulsory physical culture for all men and women for several years after they leave school. The physical advantages of army life have been emphasized by the advocates of compulsory military training, while Sweden has shown what can be accomplished for the physical development of a whole people by an intelligent and comprehensive system in which the military element is lacking. Will not our States now take up vigorously the whole question of physical education, not simply to require a few minutes' perfunctory exercise each day in school, but to develop a comprehensive system of training and to insist on good physical conditions for industrial workers?

AT a moment when the New York Legislature is flirting with a bill to repeal the primary law as it applies to State officers, Governor McCall, in vetoing such a measure, coupled with a referendum, for Massachusetts, points to New York as a distinguished champion of the direct primary. He quotes from a message of Governor Hughes as stating the reasons for the system with the greatest force, and remarks that although many States have adopted it, no State has repealed it. What has happened since 1911, when Massachusetts adopted it, he asks, to justify its repeal? That question might well be pressed at Albany. Massachusetts did not lead in establishing the direct primary, but that, to Governor McCall, is the reason why her representatives "should be the more careful not to give her the doubtful honor of putting her at the head of the procession of reaction." But New York, although not the first State to pass a direct primary law, was the scene of the most spectacular struggle over it. How much more reluctant should we be to lead in the retreat! Governor McCall is as severe as parliamentary language will permit in criticising the title given to the bill, which is "An Act to Ascertain the Will of the People as to the Manner of Nominating Candidates for Certain State Offices." The use of misleading titles and the attempt to destroy only a part of the system at first are conclusive testimony to the popularity of the primary method.

THE State Police, which it took so long to establish, are already beginning to seem indispensable in the rural regions of New York. Five months' hard service by Major Chandler's men shows a record of accomplishment of which the 235 troopers may be proud. This period might have been allowed for simply breaking them in; but in it they have patrolled a hundred thousand miles of road, have made nearly 300 investigations and 522 arrests, and have obtained 423 convictions. Gov. Whitman stated in his message to the Legislature that during their first two months' work they had made more than one arrest and obtained nearly one conviction for each member. The Committee for State Police, in a careful report, now describes the various parts of the force's service. They have stopped automobile thieving, coal thieving, and chicken thieving. They have, as Secretary of State Hugo acknowledges, greatly lessened the number of violations of automobile laws. They have enforced local laws against the liquor traffic. They have maintained the quarantine where infectious illness existed, raided gambling houses, seized illegal wireless installations, and saved people from freezing. Even Commissioner Finley acknowledges their help in "rounding up wayward children." A score of pages of clippings from the rural press in their praise are presented in the report. The Superintendent of the Police asks for another troop of 58 men, and the Legislature should provide it.

FROM lakes and seashore resorts, from Hawaii and the White Mountains, comes a wail over the Government abolition of the "literary bureaus" of the railway systems. No more of the multichrome folders, with crystal mountains, emerald lakes, and golden landscapes! No more alluring photographs mounted over a still more alluring text! An actual holiday is often a prosaic affair. But what joy, except reading seed catalogues, compares with mulling over piles of resort advertisements, each dealing with the perfect paradise described by the railways' literary agents?

The Dutch Danger

WE cannot share the equanimity with which the press in general appears to be accepting the seizure of the Dutch ships. It may be true, and we hope it is true, that the Dutch Government is not unwilling to have the deadlock broken in this fashion, but the whole transaction leaves an extremely unpleasant flavor in the mouth of a nation that is fighting "for the rights and liberties of small nations." Moreover, the laborious justification that is offered for our action cannot obscure one plain fact. The Dutch Government, for what appeared to it good and sufficient reasons, despite the utmost pressure that Great Britain and the United States could bring to bear, refused to make an arrangement whereby we might use the Dutch ships; therefore we took the ships. We can only hope that the Washington authorities have assurances that Holland will not consider our action an occasion for declaring war on the side of Germany; for lacking such assurance our seizure of the ships appears, even from the purely military point of view, a desperate gamble for relatively small stakes. What would even a million tons of shipping be worth by comparison with a well-drilled Dutch army hurled on the left flank of the Allied battle line in the west? And might not Holland in desperation come to the conclusion that such a stroke constituted her best hope of salvation from her present impossible situation?

It is not the immediate military possibilities, however, that give us the most serious concern. The *Nation* has steadily insisted that the ultimate strength of our cause is its moral quality. Germany's spring upon Belgium, justified by the plea of necessity, has dragged her down from the day the war began, as the convict's ball and chain drag down his weary limbs. In this Dutch affair, we may justify ourselves by declaring that Holland would make an arrangement with us if she were not terrorized by Germany. The fact remains that she has not made the arrangement, and that we have taken her ships. What else does our plea amount to than the plea of necessity? And if we are to override the Dutch now because we need their ships, we weaken by so much our case against Germany concerning Belgium. We do not say that the seizure of Dutch property, with provision for compensation, is on the same plane with the invasion of neutralized Belgium, the ravaging of its territory, and the slaughter of its citizens. We do say that the same plea which justified the one is the ultimate plea, when all disguises are stripped off, that will have to be used to justify the other, if no secret understanding lies behind it. Haiti and Santo Domingo and Nicaragua are already handicap enough, in the eyes of the neutrals, for the United States to carry in its war for the rights of small nations. Can we add great though little Holland to the list and still hope to pose as the champion of self-determination of small nationalities? If we must win this war by adopting the principle that might is right, let us prate no more of moral justifications, let us weep no more tears for Belgium and Servia. Let us not allow ourselves to be held up before the neutral world as hypocrites who believe in principles when they work to our advantage, and who toss them into the scrap basket when they get in our way.

Latest advices from Washington only increase our concern over this aspect of the affair. It is stated "on excellent authority that the Allied Governments have decided

that the Dutch ships must be put into the service which will give the greatest results"—in other words, instead of being used in safe areas, as the Dutch had been trying to arrange, they must be employed in the war zone. The real significance of the matter lies in its apparent indication that the imperious demands of military necessity have triumphed over the cool calculations of a wise and far-seeing diplomacy—a diplomacy that kept in view not one but all the factors in the situation. We can purchase a temporary advantage far too dear, and when we look forward to the peace settlement, we realize that this violation of neutral rights, and the moral aid and comfort such action would give Germany, would enormously lessen our moral prestige in insisting on a righteous settlement.

We cannot believe, then, that the decision is really the act of international ruthlessness that it appears on the surface to be. In a situation somewhat analogous, touching the problem of Japanese intervention in Siberia, President Wilson has displayed a sure grasp of moral and psychological realities. We cannot believe that, even in the face of pressure from our allies, he would consent to a stroke that sets at naught all such considerations in the case of Holland. We are obliged to assume that there has been here an exercise of secret diplomacy for a good purpose, and that when the full history of these days comes to be known, the President will be found to have acted with the real, if informal, consent of the Dutch Government. On no other hypothesis can we reconcile our action with the principles that have governed our course throughout the war, and with the wisdom that has led our Government at each crisis to take due account of the "imponderables."

Not to Despair of Russia

PETROGRAD celebrated the first anniversary of the fall of the Romanovs under clouded skies. With all the uncertainties that pave the road of revolution, men a year ago hardly expected so swift and sharp a disappointment as confronts the liberal world to-day. But it is still more than a step away from disappointment to failure. The democratic nations of the West must not for their own sake and for the sake of the Slav peoples think of the revolution as in collapse. Nor does this mean that we must give ourselves up to a blind hope. A basis for faith survives. The revolutionary celebrations in Russia last week were not altogether a gesture of defiance to fact, the assertion of a desperate *quand même*. Notwithstanding even the ratification of the peace treaties with a triumphant enemy, it is still possible for the Russian people to believe that, sad as their estate is to-day, it is infinitely better than if the uprising of last March had not come and Nicholas II were still on the throne. And it is for the Allies to reason in the same manner. We must always remember what the alternative to the revolution would have been. We must recall that it broke at a moment when the Czar's Ministers were preparing a separate peace with Germany, that the revolution, in fact, was largely a protest against such a peace. As an offset to the present domination of Germany in a distracted but unreconciled country, we must think of Czaristic Russia as now at peace with the Kaiser and his virtual ally, and of the greater part of the territories now seized by Germany as voluntarily surrendered by Nicholas II. The military situation would have been to-day very much what

it is. The Allies would not have been better off. Only Russia herself would still be sunk in the slough of an autocracy bolstered up by Hohenzollern friendship.

The task which the Russian people undertook last March was an enormous one. From the first it was inevitable that the Revolution should be, not only political, but social. It involved the entire transformation of the life of a state of one hundred and eighty million souls. It meant the simultaneous loosening of the floodgates of internal class war and nationalistic aspirations. And the experiment had to be carried out after nearly three years of a war that had sapped the economic strength of the country, and in the midst of war. It is true that in one sense the Revolution was an outcry for peace, but it was for a world peace that should enable Russia to win and consolidate her freedom. By herself Russia could do nothing. Not even the Bolsheviks, for all of Lenine's eleventh-hour protestations that Russia will save her Revolution within the limits imposed upon her by the Kaiser, believed that the country could work out its problems in isolation. Lenine's desperate tactics were only a way of forcing the Allies to coöperate with him for peace. The order for demobilization in the face of Teuton ruthlessness was the most desperate play of all, a final effort to stir the conscience of the people of the Central Powers. The difference between Lenine and Kerensky was that the latter shrank from such a reckless gamble. The Bolsheviks played for enormous stakes. If they had won, if the Teuton masses had risen against their masters, Lenine and Trotzky not only would have saved the Revolution in Russia; they would be the architects of a new world. They have failed; but it is still a question whether Russia as a whole has failed.

The outstanding fact to-day is that a powerful argument has been added to the necessity of a victory over German imperialism. The Kaiser has seized territories and populations, but he has presented the Allies with a moral issue of transcendent importance. For the Allies to be fighting now for the preservation of Russian freedom would be incentive enough. But we are fighting for more than that. We are defending now the great hope which the Russian Revolution gave to humanity, the hope of a world democracy based on full justice to the laboring masses, the abandonment of the exploitation of non-European peoples, the death of the secret diplomacy which plays with the lives and destinies of the nations. The supreme issue to-day is that German imperialism has set out to stifle the Russian Revolution and with it the aspirations and the forces to which it has given birth the world over. William II has accepted the Bolshevik challenge. He has made himself the champion of "order." He has forged an iron ring around the Revolution. He has imprisoned it within the movable walls of Edgar Allan Poe's dungeon, and no peace terms can be accepted as fixing the limit beyond which these fatal walls will not be pushed. The walls will be thrust forward as far as is necessary to suffocate and crush their victim. Pathetic is the Lenine belief that there is still enough left of Russia for him to build up his Revolution and renew the fight against the Kaiser. We are asked to think of Junkerism sitting idly by and twiddling its thumbs while Lenine is organizing and mobilizing his Red Armies!

And it is not only against Russia that William II has constituted himself the protagonist of "order." Indirectly he is attacking democracy wherever it exists. He is countering with a psychological drive of his own President Wilson's patient efforts to bring understanding to the German masses.

The President has labored to stimulate German democracy to self-assertion. The Kaiser is working to encourage the anti-democratic forces in every Allied nation. Everywhere the Bourbons will be pointing to Russia as the complete demonstration of the lessons of "anarchy." Everywhere they will be saying that the moral idea is childish palaver, and that it is "sanity"—meaning the rule of force administered by the few—that counts. The vision which opened up in Petrograd last March will disappear and give place to a drear materialism. Germany as against Russia will be held to have proved that national efficiency is best attained when the meek millions take orders from the alert and ruthless few. It is the democratic ideal everywhere that is at stake, and if Russia fails, then we all fail in tragic measure. That this calamity shall not come to pass must be the firm resolve of a world arrayed against German arrogance.

The Unity of America

THE war has brought much talk of the achievement of American unity. It would be far nearer the truth to say that it has revealed American unity. During the trying days of neutrality, many patriotic citizens were profoundly agitated over our differences of opinion and feeling, and were for starting all sorts of "Americanization" movements—to make their fellow-Americans think and feel as they did themselves. They were confident that our recent immigrants do not understand America—in some cases their own American ancestors could be traced as far back as 1870—and therefore they were for instituting universal military service, for jailing dissentients, for doing anything and everything to compel us all to be alike. Because we were not all alike, they were confident that the country was on the high road to destruction. Incompetent for peace, we were to show ourselves impotent for war.

To-day these voices are largely silenced. We have seen the nation carried into the war by its intellectual and political leaders. We have seen the great mass of the people quietly accepting the judgment of those leaders as to the necessity of the struggle, and soberly taking the measures and making the sacrifices called for by the responsible authorities. No one acquainted with conditions west of the Alleghanies and outside intellectual circles will pretend that the great body of the American people a year ago desired to enter the war; yet they accepted the decision for war with a quiet conviction that the President would not have made such a choice had any other course been open to him, and with an unpretending determination to play manfully their own part in the struggle, whatever that part might be. At the very outset they accepted a conscription law that violated our entire tradition of voluntary military service—accepted it because responsible leaders assured them that it was necessary in the present crisis. They accepted taxes and bond issues that will burden their children and their children's children. They gave sorrowfully, but ungrudgingly, their sons and brothers, to die, if need be, on foreign battlefields. These things we have seen done by this heterogeneous, unassimilated, undisciplined, unpatriotic, materialistic, money-grubbing, ease-loving, selfish, mongrel American people. These things we have seen done, for the most part without complaint, without excitement, and without hate; for the intolerance and the propaganda of hate have

flourished chiefly in our universities and clubs and peace societies and churches and newspaper offices—wherever our “intellectuals” were gathered together. The butcher and baker and candlestick-maker, the fireman and the hod-carrier have in general gone on their way, accepting the war as a grievous necessity, quietly asking what the Government wants them to do. Not unnaturally we are called on to admire the unity that is being created by the war.

The war, however, has not created a really new unity; it has only revealed a profound underlying unity that existed before. When the war is over, if we mistake not, Americans will disagree no less heartily concerning policies, will dispute no less warmly concerning methods, will struggle no less vigorously concerning ideas, than was the case before the sounding of the trumpet summoned them to the common task of making war. The sinking of such differences, though necessary for the time being, is not permanent or even desirable, except in so far as it is a purging of selfishness. For the America we know and love is an America, not of uniformity, but of unity, not of race purity, but of race mixture, not of conformity imposed from without, but of harmony evolved from within, not of similarity of talents, ideas, and outward circumstances, but of like aspirations and hopes and dreams.

Underneath our diversity, our struggles, our selfishness, there is a principle of unity which for a century, in a degree we cannot realize, has made America a beacon light of hope to the peoples all over the world, a principle which makes the war-torn and weary millions hang to-day on the words of an American statesman as the voice that announces the way out of the world blackness. It is that principle which has given to a hundred millions of people, coming from every country under the sun, living under every variety of geographical and climatic conditions and economic circumstances, to rich man and poor, to Maine lumberjack and Mississippi plantation hand, to Wall Street broker and New Mexican cowboy—has given to them all the mysterious unity that dwells in the word American, and that the war has now again revealed—a unity not of blood or of race or of religion or of education or of language or of customs or even of government, but a unity of the spirit which is indeed the bond of peace. We speak no mystical language, nor do we imagine that the spirit can live unless it body itself forth in fitting institutions.

To build up those institutions, economic, social, and political, that shall make the liberty of every human being a reality and not a word—that is the most difficult task set for the human race. To that task America was dedicated; to that task, though with lapses enough, she has on the whole proved faithful, and we rejoice in the belief that the last chapter in the history of her Philippine and Caribbean relations is not yet written. America has chosen to found her life on the faith which the hard and bloody experience of ages has shown to be the one principle capable of enabling men to live together in peace and happiness. May she cleave fast to that faith as she now goes forth into the world. Across the silence of a half century we can still hear the voice of the most American of all Americans: “Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth a Government dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal.” It is no mere rhetoric, but the expression of a faith that we shall one day make a reality. That is the unity of America; if we are faithful, that shall one day be the unity of the world.

The Navy

IT is more than a clean bill of health which the navy gets from the House Committee on Naval Affairs, after a long and careful inquiry into every branch of the service. The highest praise is given all round. Of the actual work of our ships and sailors, it is not yet permissible to speak in detail. As usual, the men at sea do their daily tasks in silence. That is a part of their efficiency. If open combats come, they will be reported; and deeds of exceptional gallantry will be made known; but the great and steady functions of the fleet are discharged far away from public knowledge and amid no outbursts of applause. All this the House Committee passes over, as it must, in order to dwell upon the navy's high technical success in preparation and equipment, the executive skill shown, and the full preparedness for the work that was thrust upon it by the war.

This report, at once a vindication and a glowing tribute, naturally finds its way to the inside pages of the newspapers. It was not sensational enough to get excited about! What happens when any of our war activities betray weakness, we know. Then the front page and big headlines. Army defects, the violent attacks upon Secretary Baker, the failures of the Fuel Administration, of the Food Administration, of the railways under Government control—these are blazoned abroad. It seems to be supposed that Americans are interested in nothing so much as discovering that their affairs are badly managed. But when one great department is shown to have carried out successfully in war the plans made in peace, and to have lived up fully to the hopes formed of it, why, that is merely a routine matter which the listless reader is expected to turn over with a mere “Oh, well, the navy seems to be all right.”

This attitude is probably inevitable, but it is unjust. It is not alone the question of giving warm praise where it is due. There is the public lesson to enforce. It is not a matter of good luck that the navy has so handsomely met expectations. Years of hard work entered into the readiness of the fleet at the outbreak of the war. The best brains of the best officers had been put into the labor of making the navy efficient. Foreign experience had been closely studied. Promotions for merit attested by record and by examination had been made the rule. Every problem of war and of peace had been made the subject of exhaustive study. It was not chance, then, but intelligence and zeal which made the navy prepared for the complicated and delicate duties thrown upon it by the war—duties which, thus far, it has performed with splendid efficiency. “When will you be ready for service?” This was the question asked of the commander of our first flotilla of destroyers to reach England. “We are ready now,” was the answer. If that made Americans proud, it should also have made them thoughtful. Success like that cannot be improvised. And in hailing, as we all do to-day, the promptitude and devotion and proved skill of the American navy, we are really paying homage to a system and a tradition rooted far in the past. The navy was ready for service because thought and pains and the effort of years had been put into making it ready.

But what about the Secretary of the Navy? Mr. Daniels had for years been the butt of the press, the target of wits, the scorn of civilian strategists. He was the shining failure, the admitted incompetent, the blunderer in speech, the constant offender, the ever-present peril to naval efficiency.

When the war broke out, a thousand voices demanded that he be dismissed at once, lest the navy be disintegrated and disgraced. Those voices have been singing rather low of late. They are apt to be quite silenced by the report of the House investigation. It was never seriously maintained that Secretary Daniels was a man perfect in wisdom or flawless in taste. If he did some good things, he said many more foolish things. But everybody must now concede that the savage attacks upon his administration of the Navy Department were unwarranted. People say now, ruefully: "Well, he was, of course, a good deal of a fool, but he appears to have known enough to select the right officers to do the work." Heaven send us more such fool executives! To choose competent subordinates, and then to work with them unflaggingly and inspiringly, is nine-tenths of good administration. And in view of the proof of the pudding which Secretary Daniels has now given the country, the old flings at him have become pretty cheap.

It is, however, not of him, but of the officers and men of the fleet that the nation thinks with special satisfaction and pride. The House Committee has certified to the soundness of the method of equipping and operating the navy, but what must remain in the shadow, for the present, is the watchful care and the long vigils which protect our shores and make the voyage of our troops to France safe—a strenuous labor, in secret, away from the lights and the cheering, but a labor now deeply prized by those who stop to think, and one day to receive grateful commemoration.

Damning the Primary

THE arguments advanced at Albany last week in favor of a return to the convention system of making nominations will strengthen the case for the direct primary under the conditions that prevail in the Eastern States. If this is all that the shrewdest and bitterest foes of the primary can conjure up against it, the ordinary citizen will say that it must be a pretty good arrangement. When Mr. Guthrie alleges against it that Senator Calder was nominated by 18 per cent. of the enrolled voters of his party, the attack begins to look ridiculous. Just what per cent. of the enrolled voters of his party had any share at all in nominating any candidate under the convention system? One almost suspects Mr. Guthrie of trying to inject a little humor into the hearing, even at the expense of his object, when he pictures "the good fellow, the self-seeker, the self-advertiser," as benefited by the primary. This is, in theory, what ought to happen. But Mr. Bennett, who is not invariably successful in his forensic lunges, had no difficulty in scoring by merely retorting, "Sulzer." It was not a conclusive reply, but it was as conclusive as the ill-considered assertion that drew it forth. The trouble with the hearing was, indeed, that it was so superficial. Neither the failures of the convention system nor the shortcomings of the direct primary are so disheartening as the spectacle of a group of distinguished men going to the capital of the Empire State to discuss one of the most important features of our governmental arrangements and uttering only half-truths and faulty logic.

This is the more regrettable since a real debate upon the relative merits of the convention and the direct primary would be most instructive. It would bring up some of the fundamentals of democratic government, and do much to clarify the ideas of voters upon matters of central impor-

tance. But when Mr. Guthrie declares that direct primaries destroy moral responsibility and Mr. Bennett counters with the argument that the truck drivers and day laborers of New York city vote more intelligently than the business men, the average man can only wonder at the patience of the committee that listened to them. The great error in the whole business is the assumption that one must accept convention or primary as a perfect device, or reject it as worthless. Upon this point, all parties would do well to recall what the father of the direct primary in this State thought about it. Far from claiming that it would automatically purify politics, Governor Hughes took the more modest position that it would improve party government. He did not hold out the hope that it would do even this of itself. But it would place in the hands of the voter an instrument that, when he chose, he could use to put proper men into office and proper policies into execution.

The strongest support of this position was the history of the convention system. Like the election of Senators by Legislatures, sometimes it had worked well, but it had shown itself subject to such gross abuse that a demand had grown up for a closer control of nominations by the voters. The direct primary was the result. All this was conveniently forgotten by the declaimers at Albany. One who was ignorant of our politics would have thought that a perfect system had been supplanted by an interested clique for its own special purposes. The opposite is much nearer the truth. People had got tired of the kind of convention described by Mr. Bennett, at which a thousand delegates assembled from all parts of the State took drinks, listened to music and speeches, and crowned their arduous labors by acting as rubber stamps for eight or ten men who did all the business in a private room. If the direct primary is to be set aside, what guarantee is there that we shall not revert to those disgraceful scenes? The direct primary was intended to correct the abuses of the convention. If the latter is to be restored, what safety devices are to accompany it?

A real debate would involve a comparison of the results of the two methods. We have now tried them both in New York. True, the direct primary we have is not the direct primary urged by Hughes. But waive that. Let the comparison be between convention and primary as we have known them in this State. The one gleam of reason in last week's hearing was the attempt to make such a comparison. But it was so obviously partisan, so scrappy, so lacking in range, as to be worse than useless. Any intelligent man's memory will supply sufficient material for such a comparison. Let him run over the outstanding incidents of New York's politics during the past half-dozen years; let him recall what he can of corresponding events in the time before that. And then let him pass judgment upon Senator Brown's dictum: "The direct primary, or, rather, the absence of the convention, has tended to fortify mediocrity in office." It is not enough to show that mediocrity in office is more common now than it was. There are periods of comparative brilliance and again periods of comparative dullness. The argument is that the direct primary has tended to "fortify" mediocrity, and that the convention had the opposite tendency. Like so many of the arguments at Albany, this one was beautifully clear of specifications. But until gentlemen can do something more than merely damn the direct primary, they cannot complain if people do not care to restore the system that saved us from mediocrity by "fortifying in office" a Platt or a Depew.

The Press and the International Situation*

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

TO-DAY international problems and duties overwhelm us. Abandoning for weal or woe our historic policy of concerning ourselves chiefly with the affairs of our own continent, we have plunged with high motives and altruistic zeal into international relationships and enmities which cannot but profoundly affect the life of the nation for all time. Domestic issues are completely overshadowed for the moment, or disappear altogether. Upon all leaders of public opinion is thrust the necessity of thinking internationally in terms to which Americans are almost wholly unaccustomed. How shall we meet these strange, far-reaching issues that imperiously compel our attention? More particularly, how are we of the American press dealing with them? We find ourselves literally overwhelmed by the volume of news that pours in upon us, to say nothing of the grave responsibilities of interpreting its foreign aspects. In the overwhelming magnitude of what is going on, editors seem able only to glimpse the striking and startling. Even then, few of the profession are rising to the duties of the day. The hours are too full of the making of history to allow time for constructive policy or suggestion. If we do find an editor who emerges from the hurly-burly to raise doubts, search after truths, and question policy out of wisdom and experience, we are likely to suspect him of being in sympathy with the enemy. The refusal of a large portion of the sober press to analyze events and public utterances in the light of past national policies and human experience, constitutes an alarming phenomenon. For the press to abdicate its function of guiding the formation of public judgment upon the basis of principles and facts is to serve the public ill. In war time a popular theory is that there must be complete abatement of independent thinking on the part of editors. Should independence lead them to differ in the slightest degree from opinions that have governmental sanction, a divided front might be presented to the enemy.

After a while, however, as the war has shown in every country, notably in England, this theory breaks down. There are speedily sharp differences of opinion as to administrative or military methods, and suddenly, by the act of a labor leader, or a beyond-the-seas aristocrat, or perhaps even of a United States Senator, there is a sudden loosening of pens and tongues, and lo, it is no longer treasonable to differ with authority. Plainly, therefore, history is against the theory that the press in war times shall either be speechless on foreign affairs, or merely the mouthpiece of the ruling powers. A press that is fully subservient to Secretaries of State or to Foreign Offices becomes, even in times of peace, a menace to its own country and often to the world—something to be scorned even by those who purchase it for their ends. A press that invariably approves every governmental act, quickly enough loses the public regard—as soon as the public realizes that it has abandoned the functions of a critic. Fortunately, we Americans have never witnessed any such governmental purchasing of the venal newspapers as has too often been the rule in Europe—of which the classic and horrible example is Bismarck using the “reptile press” at home for his frequently base aims and suborning journalists abroad by German gold.

On the other side, it is impossible to deny that the press, both in peace and in war, may have an unfavorable effect upon diplomatists and statesmen. For we have seen a yellow press in this country involve us in one war, and a metropolitan press throwing its entire power towards getting us into the present struggle; we have seen the London *Times* deliberately goad England into a wicked war upon the Boers. We see to-day an English newspaper potentate of unrivalled power making and unmaking Ministers and even dictating national policy. We behold his American counterpart deliberately seeking to embroil us in war with Mexicans and Japanese. Indeed, too often editors embarrass well-meaning diplomatists by frightening statesmen who are carrying on delicate negotiations into “taking extreme positions and putting forward impossible things, or in perverting history and law to help their case.” It was Mr. Edwin L. Godkin’s opinion that the press had influenced diplomatists disadvantageously in all except a few of the many cases he had observed during his long career. “Unhappily,” he felt, “in times of international trouble the easiest way” for the newspapers to impress their readers always seemed to be “to influence the public mind against the foreigner.” In 1895, after he had manfully stood up for reason and sanity in dealing with England in the matter of the Venezuelan boundary, he wrote that “until we get a race of editors who will consent to take a share of the diplomatists’ responsibility for the national peace and honor, the newspapers will constitute a constant danger to the amicable relations of great Powers.” Had he lived during the last five years, he would have had to admit a distinct bias towards war as the proper solution of international difficulties on the part of the bulk of the American press, and he would have been appalled at its positive ferocity towards those who maintain, even in war time, that there are nobler and higher ideals than the imposition of national policy by brute force.

What adds to the anxiety of those Americans who are aware of the waning of journalistic authority in this country is the widespread feeling that there are still other criticisms to be made of its conduct than those I have touched upon. No honest journalist can deny that our newspapers have steadily been losing ground on the score of accuracy, responsibility, and willingness to present all sides of the case in other matters than foreign affairs. It is widely alleged in every reform camp in the land that the press has become a class press-organization in place of a national journalism. The complaint is not new; only more intense as our underlying unhappiness as a people has increased of late. Thus, one finds many Americans to-day who feel that Mr. Gladstone’s unanswerable indictment in 1876 of the London journalism of that day apropos of an international incident would apply to our own American journalism of 1918:

There is an undoubted and smart rally on behalf of Turkey in the metropolitan press. It is, in the main, representative of the ideas and opinions of what are called the upper ten thousand. From this body there has never, on any occasion within my memory, proceeded the impulse that has prompted and finally achieved any of the great measures which, in the last half-century, have contributed so much to the fame and happiness of England. They did not emancipate the Dissenters,

*From an address delivered at the University of California, March 20, 1918.

Roman Catholics, and Jews. They did not reform the Parliament. They did not liberate the negro slave. They did not abolish the Corn Laws. They did not take the taxes off the press. They did not abolish the Irish Established Church. They did not cheer on the work of Italian Freedom and Reconstitution. Yet all these things have been done, and done by other agencies than theirs, and despite their opposition. . . . Unhappily, the country is understood abroad mainly through the metropolitan press.*

The parallel is interesting, even alarming, for if public faith is further weakened in journalism as it has been shaken in the old-fashioned diplomacy and statesmanship now so utterly discredited, we shall surely be open to the danger of conquest by demagogues, by the vile spirit of foreign militarism, or by unintelligent revolutionists of the most radical stripe. In a world in chaos, it is essential that there should be something to tie to, something to which men may hold fast—even the power of the church has been waning under the stress of a world war. There must be some basis of accurate knowledge by which men may test events and shape the course of the nation. Our forefathers deemed the newspapers the chief bulwark of our liberties, and attempted to safeguard the rights of the press by a constitutional provision lately much honored in the breach. In order that the newspapers may exercise the corrective and critical influence which those wise statesmen considered essential, the gathering and presentation of news must be absolutely independent of politicians, officeholders, and censorship.

As an instance of the way the press takes everything for granted in foreign affairs, let us consider our recent adventure in Haiti and Santo Domingo. In those countries we have pulled down Governments, have refused to pay interest on a national debt, have closed up one Congress and placed absolutely autocratic military governments in charge, in direct opposition to the wishes of those people. I do not inquire here as to the justice, the morality, or the consistency of these acts. I only point out that, so far as I could discover, there were not more than five journals in this country which took the trouble to examine into the facts, or the reasons for the Government's action, or that sought for independent knowledge as to what led up to this development. There was the usual chorus of absolute approval. America could do no wrong; why inquire? That is a happy state of mind and a convenient one, in case this Caribbean policy should be reversed two years hence, when there would be the same chorus of journalistic approval. If the desideratum is a watchful, well-informed, intelligent, and independent press, bent upon preserving the liberties of ourselves and our neighbors, then truly are our newspapers sorely lacking.

The question before us is how to bring about moral responsibility in the moulders of our public opinion, and how to keep them free from governmental domination—nothing more and nothing less. Party journalism has long since outlived its usefulness in America; newspapers everywhere have learned that political independence in domestic affairs pays—not only in influence and public respect, but in dollars and cents as well. Yet, in 1884, nothing could have been more visionary than the belief that, within thirty years, the bulk of our newspapers would be free from party bondage. I can think of no higher duty for the profession to which I am giving my life, as my immediate forebears gave theirs

—I celebrate in October the one hundredth year of consecutive journalistic service in America by the family to which I belong—than that it shall dedicate itself to the ideals towards which President Wilson now leads the world. There is the surest way for journalism to recover its lost prestige, to clear itself of the charge that it is a class press, that it is a commercial press, that it likes war for war's sake, that it lags behind in every reform. There is nothing in all the world so worth while as to search out some vital principle to which one can devote oneself heart and soul, through good repute and bad repute, through good times and evil times. It is the same for a profession as for an individual. In that exquisite introduction to his recently published "Recollections," Lord Morley writes: "The oracle of to-day drops from his tripod on the morrow. In common lines of human thought and act, as in the business of the elements, winds shift, tides ebb and flow, the boat swings, only let the anchor hold."

Halt! What Book Goes There?

By MONTROSE J. MOSES

THE Camp Library has found its range and is firing effectively. At the first call to the American people for books, there came a huge supply of miscellaneous ammunition, contributions which cleared the attics and store-rooms of many homes, but which complicated the problem of the camp librarian on sentry duty at the library door. "Halt! What book goes there?" he asked. And he turned away books on child nursing, telephone directories, fashion plates, and all the useless literary junk that gathers like dust in myriad attics. Yet, when the first "drive" for books was over, more than half a million volumes of good reading matter were ready to be dispatched to our soldiers in the cantonments and to be sent to our soldiers abroad. The A. L. A. sentry had to turn away copies of nearly every improper book in existence. He had to explain to the people that while the soldier was often eager for juvenile literature, the Elsie books were hardly suitable for the man being primed for the trenches. Six months have passed in the weeding-out process, in the adjustment of the library to the demands of the drafted army. Now that we are on the verge of another urgent call for books from the public, the library sentries still standing guard over the valuable mental stores of our American army have very definite notions whether the soldier has time to read, whether he likes to read, and what he voluntarily seeks to read.

In this second call for books it must be remembered that the soldier wishes the best there is. He wants to be given from the public that book which each giver would really like to keep for himself. Magazines are needed, but should one marvel that copies of *Snappy Stories*, received as a gift from a church in a small town, are discarded? Ruskin is welcomed, but should his "Letters to Young Girls" find place on the shelves? On the other hand, one could hardly blame an Indiana man for wanting to read Riley's "Poems" or Tarkington's "Gentleman from Indiana." It is evident why Kentucky boys should seek for John Fox.

If the librarian says that the man in khaki is reading on the war, it should be the duty of the public to see that he

*Morley's *Gladstone*, Vol. II, p. 357.

is rightly supplied with the latest and best books on the war. If it has been proved that he likes stories of adventure and detective stories, the best in that line should be given him. I can understand the soldier who wrote that he wanted a pocket Browning, with everything in it! I understand thoroughly that man who, after he had been in a great "advance" at the front, wrote home to his people: "On such a day as this, one wishes to read well-expressed words which deal with eternal things."

From Camp Devens comes the following information, regarding one day's circulation:

An engineer's field manual (a man was studying for appointment in the officers' training school and came hustling into the library asking for it); an experimental chemistry (for a medical man who walked a mile and a half from the base hospital with the thermometer at 8 degrees below zero); Talford's "Submarines" (for a man who had an idea and wanted to know everything about the Liberty Motors); Wells's "God, the Invisible King" (which a man had read in the library at one sitting, skipping mess to finish it); Shakespeare's Works (for an Italian); Van Dyke's "Fisherman's Luck" (for a man who

looked like a stevedore—probably was—and who said, "This fellow can paint with words. Ever read his poems on music?").

One request was for *John Martin's Magazine* by a man who confessed he had drawn pictures for it. Another order was from a Texas private who, having received an invitation to dine in Boston, wanted a book to read up on the city and its past history. He had just discovered Boston!

General Pershing has emphasized in his reports the necessity of sending reading matter to the soldiers in the trenches. Overseas libraries mean an underground supply, and arrangements have been made for space on every transport so that books may be sent. Every man who goes up the transport gang-plank is given one book and one magazine.

It is an important matter, this giving of books to the soldiers—more important than the public may at first think. The rudiments of education go hand in hand with the rudiments of gun practice. Once the public thoroughly realizes the standards of the American soldier, the thoughtless giving of books will stop.

John Dillon's Task

By J. C. WALSH

We hold, for example, that we must respect our promises. But suppose we find unexpectedly that for one of us to keep a promise, which has been sealed and sworn in the most sacred fashion, must lead to the great suffering of some other human being, must lead, in fact, to practical evil? Would a man do right or wrong if he broke such a promise? The practical decision most modern people would make would be to break the promise. Most would say they did evil to avoid a greater evil. And suppose it was a rather important promise? With most of us it would then come to be a matter of weighing the promise, the thing of the past, against the unexpected consequence, the thing of the future.*

C'est le tort des Anglais—et c'est le tort qui gâte plusieurs de leurs admirables qualités—de penser qu'à force de maximes pieuses et de professions de vertu, ils réussissent à faire oublier leurs actes et leur histoire.†

BY accepting the Irish leadership at a time when the Irish Convention has completed its labors and resulted in deadlock, Mr. John Dillon may presently find himself in the position of being obliged to reopen the whole subject of Ireland's relation to England. Already, discounting the Convention's probable failure, he had said that unless Ireland can get a settlement from England before the war ends, she will have to seek a place at the Peace Conference under the wing of America. There is a difference between Mr. Dillon's viewpoint and that of his friend and predecessor, Mr. Redmond, in that whereas Mr. Redmond, in his later years, saw hope for Ireland in the future needs and plans of the British Empire, Mr. Dillon looks to America for the moral backing which is now Ireland's greatest need. If he elects for a departure from the line followed by Mr. Redmond, the first determining cause will be the state of Ireland following the close of the Convention, a condition for which many will be responsible, but which he will have to meet; the second will be this aspiration towards America, whose growing importance in a world becoming daily more dependent upon her will comfort immeasurably this old man with a young heart in a time of difficulty and trial.

It is difficult to find ground upon which, with general acceptance of the premises posed, the situation of Ireland may be discussed. Hilaire Belloc the other day wrote of France as the oldest nation in Europe except Ireland, but he would be cold to the suggestion that arguments which justify the preservation of the French nation apply to the preservation of the Irish nation. The argument more copiously used in favor of small nationalities, full of potency when Servia and Rumania are in question, seems suddenly to lose its force when the Irish small nationality is mentioned. When one insists that the liberty of Belgium must be integral, he is a patriot; when one puts in a word for liberty in Ireland, he is pro-German. Italia Irredenta is a glorious vision; a united Ireland somehow anathema. Making the world safe for democracy has been well defined as assuring liberty and opportunity for the generations present and future; when the young men of Ireland demand just that, they are proclaimed to be insane. When a pledge in respect of Belgium is broken, it must be exacted though empires crumble and the heavens fall; when as solemn a pledge towards Ireland is made, the keeping of it must wait until the world has been put in order, until all objection has been withdrawn, until a friendly Prime Minister can do it without inconvenience or a hostile one do it without regret. Since all accepted tests fail, there is no use applying any of them to the situation which confronts Mr. Dillon, and so I venture to take as a starting point, in considering his task of leadership, the foregoing extract from a very notable and very stimulating discourse delivered by Mr. Wells in the year before the war, when he evidently found it in keeping with the scientific conception of world outlook to speak with a frankness from which he has since been deterred by the unwelcome concurrence of a German Chancellor.

I would not wish to press the argument beyond the scope that Mr. Wells would in such a case assign to it, which would be, I take it, that the breaking of a pledge by England can only be defended, but it can be defended, if she can jus-

*H. G. Wells, *The Discovery of the Future*.

†Henri Bourassa, *Le Pape, Arbitre de la Paix*.

tify the act in relation to some changed concept of her own higher interest, which so far, invariably, she has been able to identify, to her satisfaction, with the world's good. The historical fact is that Ireland has paid dearly for her inability to keep up with these changes of England's mind about what is in her interest. In the early periods, she put English colonies into Ireland and encouraged them in every way to intrench themselves there. They developed, with time and patience, a great commerce with distant countries. Henry VIII and the Cecil of Elizabeth decided that this had better be taken over by England herself. So Irish commerce was destroyed, the Norman earls who objected were treated as Tarquin treated the tall poppies, and the people, deprived of their leaders, were rendered helpless and were despoiled at leisure. Recovering from this, Ireland was loyal to the Stuart Kings at a time when England was deciding to be quit of them. Cromwell punished this ill-timed loyalty to English sovereignty with fire and sword. Next, William ended a hard and fair fight with a treaty whose terms he honorably meant to keep, but which English interest at once repudiated. The stone on which the treaty was signed stands in Limerick, where they are still hopelessly opposed to revising the moral code in the sense Mr. Wells approves. England gave Grattan a Parliament when America was in rebellion, and bribed it out of existence when that episode was closed. The Irish woollen manufacture, which thrived in this period, was destroyed by legislative enactment when the English saw how valuable it had become. Pitt promised Catholic emancipation as an inducement for Union, and when Union was effected, the King told Pitt he ought not to have promised and dismissed him to prevent the promise being kept. Ireland was next permitted to fill to overflowing with people kept in serfdom and fed on potatoes, until it was decided that cattle were a more desirable product than Celts in the English interest. The Celts, who had not been prepared for this change of view, were unable to adapt themselves to it, and either perished by myriads or migrated in shoals. England is now commanding that the lands which have since stood in grass shall again come under tillage, and for once the change in English interest accords with the permanent Irish aspiration. A people gaining in economic strength, as the Irish have gained since 1880, were sure to demand increase of political opportunity, and of this they had obtained the promise after a most gallant struggle, only to have the keeping of the promise withheld until such time as England could make up her mind how the position was to be affected by new interests of her own, arising out of the reorganization of her Empire, the challenge of the Germans, the shifting of world forces, and the repartition of the Eastern hemisphere. They had not well concluded, in 1914, fashioning the Home Rule legislation which had been on the anvil since Gladstone began to shape it in 1886, before they cast about to devise new schemes which should have some relevancy to Imperial post-war reconstruction. The Convention which was announced to the world as a test of the capacity of the Irish to agree about their own government has been turned, not by the Irish delegates to it, but by the English managers of the Convention, into an ante-chamber of a general reconstruction studiously prepared for since the second year of the war, meant to be effective over a third of the universe, and designed to endure during a century which will see the people of the world divided into four main groups, which will witness the application to the awak-

ening nations of Europe and the backward millions of the Orient of that industrial system, with its amazing complexity of interests, which barely a century ago had its small beginnings a ditch journey away from the coal beds of England.

When the war began, with Home Rule passed after nearly forty years of struggle, Mr. Redmond said, "Ireland will trust you." Later he had to say: "I trusted you, and I have been let down and betrayed by you." In 1916 he said: "You proposed an arrangement which we accepted, to the deep injury of our national pride, and you repudiated it without even common courtesy." Mr. Asquith answered with a taunt that by his trustfulness Mr. Redmond had lost his power in Ireland. A month before he died Mr. Redmond had all but lost hope that the British Government would stand up to the Ulster men, or that it would offer Ireland anything Ireland could accept. It is in these circumstances that John Dillon comes into the leadership of Ireland. What line would one take, in his place, and if one had had forty years' experience of the application to Ireland by her stronger neighbor of the principle so convincingly expounded by Mr. H. G. Wells?

I do not know what line he will take, nor, in the space that remains to him, how far he will get. I do not know whether a man who has fought for two-score years under one set of conditions can turn now to meet adequately an entirely new set, nor how well a man of sixty-seven, saturated with the stirring memories of an unforgettable past, can build, with the slender materials left to him by an alien and destructive Ascendancy, for a distant future. He may not show the tact or the capacity for management that distinguished Redmond's relation to the Irish party. He has not the iron hardness of Parnell in presence of English adversaries. But he has an unrivalled knowledge of the political field, and he has maintained close and constant touch with every corner of Nationalist Ireland. He is the only one of the older leaders who has spoken fair words to the impetuous and daring spirits of the younger generation, and if there is one remaining prospect of coöperation between the wisdom of years and the aggressiveness of youth, it centres around his personality.

We hear overmuch of the ungenerous treatment of the Irish leaders in their declining years. What is less frequently noted is that the very violence of youthful protest against arbitrary limitations of liberty and opportunity imposed by outside force, which violence older leaders always reprobate, has time and time again furnished a stored-up potential to be drawn upon for splendid gains in later years. Gladstone himself found a close relation between violence and disestablishment. The Land League of 1878 was father to the Land Act of 1903. Parnell had been more than twenty years in his grave when the King signed the Home Rule Act. And whatever else may have happened, there has been "a new birth of freedom" in Ireland in these latest years, which will carry Ireland another long step on the path of ordered freedom in God's good time.

If Mr. Dillon surveys the present, and that he cannot avoid, he sees a Prime Minister friendly to Ireland in word, but timorous and escapeful in deed, beset by insistent and resourceful enemies who seek his overthrow. On the other side, he sees those who, like Asquith, speak boldly for justice to Ireland, but act as though the words had not been spoken; declared enemies like Carson who are not too scrupulous about the means they use to serve their ends; cunning and dissimulating intelligences labelled Balfour and

Lansdowne, cold to the appeal for liberty and opportunity for Irishmen. He sees a world war, now become almost static, in respect to which his sympathies are on the side of those whom brute force would destroy and against the enslavement of other peoples as his own have been enslaved. He sees English statesmen in a balance of judgment between a war of extermination and a partition of the continents among the Powers that still are strong. He sees new economic policies being evolved, in regard to which the interest of Ireland is still disposed of on the assumption that a conquered province is properly subject to the convenience of her master's will and interest. At home he sees Irish munition factories closed that English factories may be kept open, a war-time adaptation of the tactics which all but prevented Henry Ford from starting in Ireland an industry that might just as well have been started in England. He sees Irish children hungry that English children may be fed with Irish food. He sees the certainty of resentment and the probability of turmoil if the Convention fails, and he sees armies so stationed that rule of Ireland by court-martial would be easy for military authorities not in the least averse to the idea. Who knows by what events his course will be dictated? Who can foresee how far it will be possible for him to shape his policy according to his own desires? All that depends upon how Mr. Lloyd George, or some other Prime Minister, feels about "weighing the promise, the thing of the past, against the unexpected bad consequence, the thing of the future," notably his own future. Can anything be done to help him decide aright?

Archaeological Research in Italy

By GISELA M. A. RICHTER

THE Italian soil is so rich in relics of its great past that mere building and agricultural operations are constantly bringing to light important objects. Though the war has put a temporary stop to most systematic excavations in Italy, it has not suspended all archaeological research. Thus the account of last year's archaeological research in Italy, written by Mrs. A. S. Strong, the assistant director of the British School at Rome, in a recent number of the *London Times*, reports a number of important discoveries. Only a brief summary of this account can be given here.

In Rome the scene of excavation has shifted somewhat from the Forum and Palatine to the outskirts of the city, where many new works are in progress. To the southeast of the city, close to the Porta Maggiore and the Via Praenestina, a landslip under the railway track of the Rome-Naples line led to the discovery of a superb building of the second century A. D. This is an arcaded hall of basilican plan, with atrium, apse, and a nave divided into three aisles by rows of pilasters. All available wall surfaces are covered with stucco decorations executed in a bold and rapid style. The total absence of inscriptions makes it difficult to determine the exact purpose of the building, but from the subjects of the stuccoes, as well as from the secrecy of the approach, it seems reasonable to suppose it was the hall of initiation of some religious fraternity or *sodalitas*, connected with the Eleusinian or kindred mysteries. In the same neighborhood three fine tombs of Republican date, with most of their portraits intact in their niches, were exposed at a corner of the

Villa Wolkonsky, cut back to enlarge the new Viale di Santa Croce. These tombs, which happily are being restored *in situ*, are in line with a columbarium discovered many years ago under the same villa; they all apparently bordered on an ancient road which was probably the Via Caelimontana antiqua.

The investigations under the basilica of San Sebastiano on the Via Appia, on the spot traditionally connected with the temporary burial of SS. Peter and Paul, have been resumed with great vigor. Further columbaria and two more rooms of the Roman house partially uncovered last year have been cleared. The mural decorations of this house are among the finest examples yet known of Augustan and Claudio-Neronian painting. One represents a harbor, with boats putting out to sea, and on the shore a *fête champêtre*.

Excavation at Ostia continues steadily. A vast rectangular market-place, divided into two courts by a central building, has been uncovered. Close by have been found further fragments of the local *fasti*, or chronicles, giving, among other items, an account of the death of Tiberius at Misenum on March 16 of the year 37, of the transport of the body to Rome by the soldiery, and of the ceremonies of the funeral. Of the houses recently disengaged, one displays the novel feature of a long balcony running round two of its sides; another is remarkable for its well-preserved mural paintings, which include figures of poets, philosophers, and female dancers.

At Narce, in Faliscan territory, a large necropolis, dating from the sixth to the fifth century B. C., has been brought to light. Excavations continue at Veii, where the foundations of the gate of the Acropolis have been uncovered, as well as two strata of huts, the first belonging to an Italic people, the second to an Etruscan settlement. The site of a temple, tentatively called that of Apollo from the principal statue found there, has yielded a rich series of terra-cotta figures, which have been brought to the Museum of the Villa Giulia. A beautiful head of Hermes and various small heads of warriors were found at the same time as the remarkable Apollo statue. These Veientian figures are certainly the most important archaic works yet discovered on Italian soil. The Museo di Villa Giulia has also become possessed of the objects recently found in a tomb at Todi, including a Greek vase signed by Pamphaios, and a fifth-century bronze helmet.

In Rome itself several notable discoveries have been made. Further architectural fragments of the two temples in the Piazza San Nicolo dei Cesarini have been unearthed. On the western extension of the Piazza Colonna a large group of *insulae* of imperial date was revealed, the largest of which was a many-roomed building with engaged pilasters. Outside the Porta Portese, close to the catacombs of Pontianus, an extensive Christian cemetery of sixth to seventh century date came to light.

From Pompeii comes news of the discovery of four more skeletons of victims of the eruption. Two of these have been recognized as those of women from their delicate gold earrings.

Finally, at Cyrene, the new Italian province of North Italy, a fine statue of Eros stringing his bow has been found. It is the best replica so far known of the type commonly attributed to Lysippos. It was found during excavations carried on at the temple of Apollo and on the side of the Agora. At the same time a portrait head of the Antonine period and four bronze vases were unearthed.

Correspondence

Wisconsin and La Follette

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The statement of our colleague, Mr. H. M. Kallen, in your current number, that the fundamental issue in Wisconsin to-day is "equitable taxation" is so wide of the truth that it would not be entitled to a denial had not you given it the publicity of a leading article. The philosophical tangle of statements through which the author proceeds from the assertion that reactionaries still dislike Senator La Follette to the conclusion that all who now oppose him are reactionaries resembles the confusion of mind existing with those who believe it possible to fight all measures proposed by the Government of the United States and yet not retard the progress of the war. Wisconsin is to-day trying to define the term loyalty, and trying to connect theory with performance. As your contributor asserts, the great bulk of our people are entirely loyal. They are now beginning to think.

The opponents of James Thompson, of La Crosse, the "La Follette Republican" candidate for the Republican nomination as Senator, do not include any person whose ideas of taxation are fundamentally different from those of Senator La Follette. Most of Wisconsin, including the present Governor, believe in a policy of rigorous taxation differing only in detail from the desires of the present Senator. Many of them have a bitter grievance against Senator La Follette because he has placed himself in such a position as to nullify his right to fiscal leadership in the United States Senate. Congressman Lenroot is likely to support, as Senator, a searching and rigorous basis for our finance. He has not allowed his distrust of wealth to run him off his feet, but he is in full acceptance of the "Wisconsin Idea" of corporate control and modern taxation. Victor L. Berger, in the primary as a Socialist, is equally radical. In the Democratic primary no one could accuse Charles McCarthy of favoritism to wealth; he has written progressive taxation planks by wholesale and believes in them. His opponent, Joseph E. Davies, late of the Federal Trade Commission and once Commissioner of Corporations, is a progressive Democrat of the school that La Follette trained to follow his financial leadership when he was Governor a dozen years ago. The only entry in the primary who has not a long and well-built record in favor of "equitable taxation" is the "La Follette Republican" candidate, James Thompson. He alone has a reputation entirely intrastate and even local. If any of the candidates in the primary of March 19 favors big business or swollen fortunes, he is well concealed.

The fact seems to be that Mr. Kallen has simply missed the point. Wisconsin came slowly into the current of conviction that has taken us to war. Our people, heavily of foreign stock and largely rural, responded slowly. Old ties with Germany held many for a while. Berger, in his Congressional canvass of 1914, used two whole pages in several languages in his Socialist daily, the *Milwaukee Leader*, on the eve of election to fight the canard that he, a German, was disloyal to the Fatherland. And Senator La Follette saw in the war—and still seems to see—only a conspiracy of wealth to save England. "Germany has been patient with us," he declared to the Senate as recently as April 4, 1917; and the context of the sentiment shows that he meant it.

In the crisis of opinion that Wisconsin is now going

through, large numbers of men who have been loyal supporters of La Follette have been jarred loose from their dependence upon his judgment. They are beginning to think for themselves, and his friends are trying desperately to deceive them with the cry that all he wants is equitable taxation. Many of his bitterest critics to-day have been his followers in the past and are still hostile to the conservative Republican group that has always fought him. But they have come to believe that a new issue has appeared in which he will not, or cannot, lead. The issue cannot be reduced to the simple formula of "equitable taxation."

The real issue in Wisconsin is this: Since the death of Paul Husting, Wisconsin has not had a Senator who gives affirmation to the loyalty of the State. Group after group, professors, school superintendents, county boards, and even the Legislature itself, have demanded that the new Senator must be a man who believes this war to be just, and who is in favor of prosecuting the war until it is won, and who will not tie up the hands of the nation in order that he may profiteer for himself by urging some pet reform.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON
CARL RUSSELL FISH

Madison, Wis., March 10

I. W. W. Patriotism in Globe

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue for February 21 you published an article by Mr. Robert Bruère entitled "Copper Camp Patriotism," in which occurred at least one important error. The labor troubles in the Globe-Miami district were casually termed "an insignificant demonstration on the part of certain strikers," and the general impression conveyed was that the troubles themselves were not only of minor importance, but also of the same nature as those elsewhere in Arizona. A resident of Globe during the period referred to and one familiar for years with conditions throughout the district cannot suppress a certain amount of speculation as to the real nature of an "intensive investigation" which leads to such a result. The facts as presented at a public hearing of the President's Mediation Commission may be briefly indicated.

The district had enjoyed unprecedented prosperity prior to the strike; so marked was that prosperity that strikes in other districts were for the specific purpose of obtaining what was generally known as "the Miami wage scale," the highest known to the industry. Conditions generally were so favorable to the workingmen that no trouble whatever was anticipated by the citizens even when the I. W. W. and Western Federation officials began to drift in; there was no unrest among the rank and file of the workers until after the influx of these officials. The first manifestation of trouble was a street-corner demonstration used as a "feeler" by the Western Federation officials; this was followed by increasingly inflammatory harangues on the part of the I. W. W.

Among the demands of the latter were shorter hours and still higher wages; those of the former included the recognition by all the larger corporations in the district of a grievance committee which should deal with the mine managers in all labor disputes that might arise. The managers of the larger properties recognized the right of the workers to have an adjustment of such disputes by this method, pro-

vided a separate committee familiar with local conditions were elected at each mine. The managers contended that to allow one general committee to act in all disputes wherever arising would inevitably eventuate in a "closed shop" throughout the district. Failure to agree on this single point gave the agitators their one leg to stand on, and the strike was called. The following recital of the circumstances may indicate whether or not the event is properly described as "an insignificant demonstration on the part of certain strikers."

The most important mine at Globe itself (the Old Dominion) has to contend with an enormous underground flow of water; should the pumps be disused for only an hour, the mine would be flooded and ruined. When the strike was called, both I. W. W. and Federation members congregated in force at the various entrances, where they not only denied admittance to those who attempted to relieve the volunteers manning the pumps within, but also for forty-eight hours prevented food from being sent in to those same volunteers. The strikers even dared to repel by force the Sheriff and his deputies. So tense became the situation that the citizens decided to wire for the Governor himself; he came and, after investigation, found it necessary to apply for Federal troops. These were promptly supplied from Douglas, and they are there yet.

Mr. Bruère indulged in a sweeping, if for the most part only implied, condemnation of "Loyalty Leaguers." The Loyalty League of Globe was organized for the purposes of preserving law and order and of fostering patriotism in a community where it was sadly lacking. The outgrowth of this organization has been the formation of a Home Guard, which has been drilling since August, to preserve order after the troops are withdrawn. Very recently notice was received from Washington that this effort at safeguarding the peace is to be rewarded by Federal recognition and supervision.

Mr. Bruère professed himself unable to find evidences of seditious activity on the part of members of the I. W. W. and the Western Federation. Does Mr. Bruère know that the Fourth of July parade in Globe had to be abandoned at the last moment because of the threatening attitude of several hundred malcontents who before noon of that day were marching through the streets and flaunting their contempt for constituted authority? Did Mr. Bruère in his "intensive investigation" not learn that the Miners' Union at Globe removed the flag from their hall and that patriotic citizens put it back? Did Mr. Bruère not have opportunity to read the treasonable articles printed over the signatures of the officers of that same Miners' Union? Does he know that a number of the I. W. W. leaders who helped to bring on the troubles here detailed are now under indictment in Chicago? One member of the President's Commission, during one of its sessions, made a remark to the effect that he had been through all sorts of labor troubles in his home State, but that certain of the leaders in Globe were the most unpatriotic he had ever encountered.

Mr. Bruère has been either inadequately or erroneously informed with regard to the Globe-Miami labor troubles and has thereby been led into a grave error of judgment in his report. The facts as outlined above will prevent your readers from confusing the "insignificant demonstration" at Globe with disturbances elsewhere in Arizona.

CLIFFORD C. FAIRES

Camp Sevier, Greenville, S. C., March 12

Exact Berlin

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: John Stuart Blackie visited Germany in 1853 and recorded his impressions in several sonnets. Little Weimar, "where the Gods once walked," has hardly anywhere been paid a finer tribute. In that on Berlin his interpretation of national characteristics, at least in the capital, is almost prophetic of much in this war that has been the surprise and bitter regret of the world.

BERLIN

Statues on statues piled, and in the hand
Of each memorial man a soldier's sword!
Fit emblem of a tame and subject land,
Mustered and marked by a drill-sergeant-lord.
And these long lines of formal streets, that go
In rank and file, by a great captain's skill
Were marched into this cold and stately show,
Where public order palsies private will.
Order is strong; strong law the stars commands;
But birds by wings, and thought by freedom lives;
The crystallized stone compact and foursquare stands,
But man by surging self-born impulse strives.
Much have ye done, lords of exact Berlin,
But one thing fails—the soul to your machine!

HARVEY S. BOMBERGER

Boonsboro, Md., March 7

More Copperheads

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You publish a protest against connecting the name Copperhead with the head of Liberty on our old big copper cents. I recollect an incident of my boyhood during the war, when I was invited to ride with a man whom I well knew. We stopped to talk with a man whom we met, and I will always remember one thing in that conversation. The man with whom I was riding said: "Have you heard the latest news? They say that Father Abraham has decided to call in all our copper cents so that we Democrats cannot have them to wear on the lapels of our coats." Both men laughed long and heartily. They were evidently familiar with the idea of connecting the head of Liberty on our big old copper cents with the name by which many of them were called.

CHARLES D. ELLIS

Gregory, Mich., March 8

Emerson and Dunscore Kirk

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. James Brown, of South Dakota, inquires in your issue of March 7 if his recollection as to Carlyle's remark, "Christ died on the tree," etc., that it was made to Emerson at the time of his visit to Great Britain and not to Edward Irving, as Lord Morley says in his "Recollections," is correct, adding that he has not at hand the book or magazine with which to verify his impression. Mr. Brown is quite right in what he states. The remark, and the circumstances in which it was made, may be found in Emerson's "English Traits," the first chapter, where, in describing his visit to Carlyle at his Craigenputtock home, "amid desolate, heathery hills, where the lonely scholar nourished his mighty heart," he says:

We went out to walk over long hills, and looked at Criffel, then without his cap, and down into Wordsworth's country. Then we sat down and talked of the immortality of the soul. It was not Carlyle's fault that we talked on that topic, for he had the natural disinclination of every nimble spirit to bruise itself against walls, and did not like to place himself where no step can be taken. But he was honest and true and cognizant of the subtle links that bind ages together and saw how every event affects all the future. "Christ died on the tree; that built Dunscore kirk yonder; that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence."

FRANCIS W. HALSEY

New York, March 11

The Battle of Prague Again

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your Swarthmore correspondent might have cited Thackeray and Hood instead of Butler in his letter on "The Battle of Prague." Thackeray uses it when Miss Swartz dines with the Osbornes, and it was the "piece" the "United Family" united on in Hood's poem of that name. LUX

Belmont, Mass., March 10

A Chant for Days in the Woods

By MARGUERITE WILKINSON

GOD of grave nights,
God of brave mornings,
God of silent noons,
Hear my salutation!

For where the rapids rage white and scornful
I have passed safely, full of wonder;
Where the sweet pools dream under willows
I have been swimming, full of joy.

God of round hills,
God of green valleys,
God of clear springs,
Hear my salutation!

For where the moose feeds I have eaten berries,
Where the moose drinks I have drunk deep;
Where the storms crash through broken heavens,
And under clear skies I have known love.

God of great trees,
God of wild grasses,
God of little flowers,
Hear my salutation!

For where the deer crops and the beaver plunges,
Near the river I have pitched my tent;
Where the pines cast aromatic needles
On a still floor, I have known peace.

God of grave nights,
God of brave mornings,
God of silent noon,
Hear my salutation!

BOOKS

Hearn's Critical Essays

Life and Literature. By Lafcadio Hearn. Selected and edited with an Introduction by John Erskine. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.50 net.

THIS is the fourth volume of essays edited by Professor Erskine from Hearn's Tokio lectures, as these were taken down by Japanese students. Certainly the series forms a singular and notable addition to the critical body of English literature. But it is rather a pity that the editor, in his Introduction, should insist so emphatically on the extraordinary merits of Hearn as a critic and should assume so bellicose an attitude towards those who cannot agree with his editorial prejudices. Some of the interest of Hearn's work is undoubtedly attributable to his position as teacher of English to an Oriental audience, but his position brought with it also certain limitations. A good many pages consist merely of prose paraphrases of his poetical illustrations, and this sort of exposition, though extremely useful under the circumstances of delivery, is not highly profitable or entertaining for the instructed English reader. It is clear, too, that now and then, owing to his distance from the source of supplies, the lecturer shows an unfamiliarity with biographical details in which under other circumstances he would not have rested. Lord De Tabley and William Cory, for instance, are not quite the unknown figures he makes them out to be.

A more fundamental fault in the book must be laid to the constitution itself of Hearn's mind. It is evident that he had never come to terms with himself in regard to what may be called the romantic and the judicial methods of criticism. Thus in his essay "On Reading" he declares that "the choice of great books must under all circumstances be an individual one. In short, you must choose for yourself according to the light that is in you." This hints at the primrose path of personal taste and liberty. Yet in this same essay he advocates the most extreme discipline of taste by the judicial method. "A young man who has passed through a course of university training should discipline himself at an early day never to read for mere amusement," and all his study should be to the end of bringing his personal taste into conformity with "the outcome of an enormous experience," with the judgment, that is to say, formed and inherited by generations of readers. In general Professor Erskine, in his Introduction, dwells on the sympathetic and romantic aspect of Hearn's mind, with a fine contempt for the "academic and journalistic schools of criticism to-day," yet at the same time, like Hearn, will insist on the necessity of "a self-discipline almost beyond the rigor of classicism"—which is just a pleasant way of eating one's cake and having it. One more complaint and we are done. The editor has tried, he says, to verify all the quotations. His energy must have exhausted itself by the time he reached the lecture on William Cory, for the quotations from "Ionica" are disfigured by words which destroy the rhyme, break the rhythm, ruin the grammar, and make nonsense. These few pages show a veritable concentration of negligence.

If we have dwelt too long on the faults of a notable work, our apology must rest on the provocative tone of the editor. Whatever may have been the inconsistency of Hearn's critical philosophy, his practice is fairly consistent, in so far as

he confines his exposition almost exclusively to authors whom he admires and keeps his condemnations mostly out of sight. His admiration is wide and generally based on a keen perception of essential qualities. His appreciation of "Ionica" is delightful and will probably bring that rare poet to many who may have overlooked him. Here, we think, in his love of the recondite and meticulous, Hearn was speaking out of his heart, whereas his praise of Tolstoy's humanitarian theories of art was more a matter of speculative conviction than of real taste. Certainly his own art is sufficiently esoteric in quality. In his study of Meredith's poetry his method of explanatory exposition may be justified on the grounds of Meredith's obscurity. Not to mention the Japanese students, to whom the extracts without such exposition would have been merely bewildering, most English readers will find Hearn's interpretations useful and enlightening.

To give an idea of the range of the book, it is enough to name a few more of the lectures: "On the Relation of Life and Character to Literature," "On Composition," "Modern English Criticism," "The Prose of Small Things," "George Borrow," "The Victorian Spasmodics," "French Poems on Insects," "A Romance of the Middle Ages." Here is opulence. To the editor, whose labor in preparing these essays from student notebooks must have been exacting to the last degree, every lover of critical literature owes a large debt of gratitude.

Problems of Southeastern Europe

The Eastern Question: A Historical Study in European Diplomacy. By J. A. R. Marriott. New York: Oxford University Press. \$5.50.

The Turkish Empire: Its Growth and Decay. By Lord Eversley. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3 net.

WHEN this present war comes to an end, as sooner or later it must, there will be an infinitude of racial and territorial questions to be settled, none of which will be more intricate and perplexing than those which relate to southeastern Europe and western Asia. America will have to deal with these no less than have those European nations that are fighting on the same side. All her efforts to keep out of Old World affairs, earnest as they have been, are now overborne by the current of events. She will be obliged, for it will be her plain duty, to sit at the council board which is to determine the fate of Serbs, Greeks, and Bulgarians, Albanians and Rumanians and Armenians. It is well, therefore, that the American people should learn all they can about those races before the time comes when they must themselves bear a hand in trying to disentangle this mass of tangled threads which make up what is called the Eastern Question. Here are two books which offer to help them towards the needed knowledge. That bearing the name of Mr. Marriott is written by a lecturer on history in Oxford University, who seems to be also a member of the House of Commons, sitting for the city of Oxford. It presents a concise view of the history of southeastern Europe from the invasion of the Ottoman Turks in A. D. 1353 down to the outbreak of the present war. Thus it covers much the same ground as does the other book by Lord Eversley, which chronicles, briefly and tersely, the rise and decay of Turkish power, for though Lord Eversley views and narrates events with primary reference to the Turks, and Mr. Marriott is concerned with the Christian races and kingdoms rather than with the Moslem Sultans,

the history of the last two centuries is really an account of the successive steps by which the Turkish authority was broken and the Turkish dominions steadily cut down, partly by the revolts of the Christian races, partly by the attacks of Austria and Russia, Powers which interposed sometimes as helpers of the Christians, but more frequently in their own selfish interests. Neither of these writers professes to have reinvestigated the original authorities nor to have added much to what previous historians have given us. Their aim is to present a clear and intelligible narrative, convenient to the ordinary reader. In this they have both succeeded. Both write easily and clearly, though Mr. Marriott is rather too apt to lapse into journalese. He is generally, if not invariably, accurate; perhaps least so in his orography and ethnography, for he does not seem to know the Balkan countries first hand, but only through books. He preserves a reasonable impartiality as between the various European Powers whose policy he has to trace, not glossing over the errors committed by the statesmen of his own country at the time of the Crimean War and down to the beginning of the present century, though condemning those errors less severely than not a few other British writers have done.

Lord Eversley, who is one of the veterans of British statesmanship, having entered Parliament some sixty years ago, has some direct acquaintance with Eastern affairs, and has (as his book tells us) himself travelled in Turkey. He does not enter into the racial and geographical conditions which affect political issues as fully as Mr. Marriott does, but gives us a lucid and judicious account of the process by which the dominion of the Turks was established during nearly three centuries of growth from 1302, when Othman's career of conquest began, and of the swifter process of decay by which it has been losing territory and power since the battle of Zenta (in Hungary) in 1697. This narrative, concise enough to be perused by busy men, but skilfully composed so as to fix attention upon the salient features of the story, will be specially illuminative to those persons in western Europe—for there are none left in America—who still believe, or affect to believe, that the rulers of Turkey are capable of being reformed into some sort of civilized government.

The history of the countries that lie around the eastern Mediterranean presents two remarkable processes. One is the steady decline and ultimate dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. In the end of the sixteenth century it stretched from the Cataracts of the Nile, from Aden, and from El Basra in the south, to Buda and Czernowitz in the north. It has lost in succession Hungary, Rumania, Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Crete, retaining only a strip of southeastern Thrace. The other process is the rise of new Christian kingdoms on the territory whence the Turks have been driven, and the loss also of Egypt and the Mediterranean islands. Thus confining ourselves to southeastern Europe, its modern history is the record of the two processes to which we have referred above, namely, the decline, decay, and dismemberment of the Turkish dominion, with the corresponding emancipation of the Christian races who inhabit that region, and who have been latterly building up new kingdoms on the ruins of the Moslem Sultanate. These races are five in number, occupying the territories between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. The most ancient among them is the Albanian, which doubtless represents those whom the Greeks and Romans knew as the Illyrians, and who were even then an ancient people, occupying a district wider than they hold now. They seem to have stretched at least as far north as the

central points of what is now Dalmatia. They call themselves Skipetar, are divided into several tribes (one of which is Mohammedan), and are engaged not only in constant feuds among themselves, but also in raids upon their Slav neighbors. They are an energetic race, far superior to the Osmanli Turks, whom they dislike. South of them, and none too friendly to them, are the Greeks. How far the Greeks to-day are entitled to claim descent from the Hellenes of antiquity is a point much in dispute. It is anyhow clear that they have received a large infusion both of Slavonic and of Albanian blood, and it is only in some of the Ægean islands and in a few places on the mainland that one finds faces showing the old Greek type as we know it from the remains of ancient sculpture. The third great race is that of the Slavs, including the Croatian, Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Slovene subjects of Austria, as well as the independent Serbians and Montenegrins. The two latter peoples belong to the Greek, or "Orthodox," Church, the former mostly to the Church of Rome, but this ecclesiastical distinction has now become a less important ground of political severance than it was formerly, and does not greatly damp the hopes of the young Slavonic or Jugo-Slav (Southern Slav) party, who desire to unite all these branches under the sceptre of the Serbian King. East and south of these Slavs are the Bulgars, a people of Finnish stock who, when they crossed the Danube and settled in the country which now bears their name, mingled with the Slavonic population they found there and learned from them to speak a Slavonic tongue. Fifth and last come the Rumans, who dwell north of the Lower Danube in Wallachia, Moldavia, and some districts of Transylvania and Bessarabia. They profess to be the offspring of the Roman colonists whom the Emperor Trajan placed in Dacia, but this view, in which there is more of patriotism than of science, is not accepted by the most competent investigators, and it is probable that the descendants of the Roman garrisons and settlers constitute only a small part of the blood of this large people. The language, however, belongs to the Romance or neo-Latin group, and is remarkable as the only member of that group which places the definite article after its noun, as do the Scandinavian tongues. The Rumans are the only Balkanic people in which there exists a landed aristocracy, controlling a large mass of peasant cultivators. In all the other Balkan countries social equality reigns.

Among these five races there exist jealousies, rivalries, and enmities which render the task of reconciling their respective pretensions one of the gravest problems which will have to be dealt with when the war ends. These rivalries have been accentuated by the disorders which have arisen during the efforts of the subject Christian races to shake off the Turkish yoke. There has been nothing in modern European history more discreditable to European diplomacy than the way in which it prolonged the agony of these struggles by the wavering and selfish policy which the Great Powers pursued. Had either the opportunity presented by the Crimean War of 1853-4, or, still better, that presented by the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, been wisely used, in a large and fair spirit, to settle the questions, far less passionately contested then than now, that arose between the various nationalities, Europe would not be now confronted with the acute territorial disputes between Serbia and Bulgaria, between Albania, Serbia, and Greece, and between Rumania and Bulgaria which threaten the future of the Balkans. The Turk must, of course, be, as a ruler, turned out

of Europe altogether. Upon that point agreement between America and her friends in Europe may be presumed. The Young Turk is even worse as a governor of other races than was the Old Turk. But the difficulties which will remain even after he is gone are grave and numerous. All American readers who desire their country to exercise, with wisdom and impartiality, the influence which will justly belong to her in the adjustment, at the end of the war, of the racial and territorial problems we have mentioned, ought to acquire some historical knowledge of those problems such as the books before us offer. The public opinion of America will count for much. It loves freedom. It is imbued by sentiments of humanity. And it is not only disinterested in these Old World controversies, but it will be everywhere recognized as disinterested, the opinion of an honest and well-meaning arbitrator.

Zigzag Through Africa

Thrice Through the Dark Continent. By J. Du Plessis, B.A., B.D. Longmans, Green & Co. Price \$4.50 net.

AFRICAN travel is a simpler, not to say tamer, affair than in those not very remote days when Stanley went searching for Livingstone. Now a solitary, unarmed tourist can go where he pleases with less risk than he might run in the United States. The local chief or headman provides carriers, who transport the tourist's luggage in sixty-pound packets to the next village. In the same fashion the next headman passes him on to the next point. You may carry a rifle or shotgun to provide food for your "boys"; but fire-arms are not necessary to protect your life or goods. Then there are roads and railways where once was only jungle. Steamers ply in the great lakes and rivers. Using these and other methods of conveyance, including a horse, a bicycle, and a motor lorry, as well as his own legs, Mr. J. Du Plessis traversed Africa three times between December, 1913, and January, 1916. Starting at Kumasi in the west, he crossed over to Mombasa on the Indian Ocean, retraced his steps to the mouth of the Congo, and in a third journey reached the Indian Ocean a second time at Chinde. He has written a most entertaining account of his travels, although there is no homicide in it, nor even an escape from a wild animal. His object was to inspect the various missions planted by different churches in the heart of the Dark Continent. His book will interest the general reader as well as those interested in the spread of Christianity.

Unconsciously the author depicts himself as a cheerful, hardy, humorous, much-enduring man, a good sportsman and not too starchily clerical. He is also a man of taste, as witness his quotations, and his "Pigskin Library"—Shakespeare, Browning, Pickwick, and Elia—no bad antidote for the *ennui* arising from the inevitable long periods of waiting for transportation. He is an honest observer, and he has supplemented his notes and jottings with extensive records of the truthful camera. He is, one would say, a born traveller, and tells his story well, though it is not startling.

Like other observers, he notes the downward sweep of Islam from the north. Every Moslem is a missionary. He carries his religion with him everywhere. Five times a day he prays in the forms prescribed. He may be so absorbed in his devotions that he almost misses his train. He is often of the Africans' own color, not superior like the white man and therefore less *simpatico*. That Islam is an improve-

ment on fetichism, an advance on the degrading and terrifying superstitions of the black man, cannot be doubted. The African rises in the scale through the stern monotheism of the Prophet and becomes a more decent, more dignified human being. Mr. Du Plessis also gives figures to show that the Church of Rome manages to attract a larger following than the Protestant churches and is much more aggressive. These facts are given candidly, if with perhaps a certain wistfulness. At the same time, not a little evidence is adduced of intelligent, widespread, and heroic missionary effort on the part of the churches of the Reformation. The truth is that missionary zeal has never burned brighter or shone farther since the first century.

Although he disclaims credit for making any striking additions to the common stock of knowledge about Africa, Mr. Du Plessis has certainly gathered up some new notions about the people and their modes of thought. It seems that the young negro educated at the missions is quite as intelligent and "practical" as his white compeer. He looks out for some profitable employment instead of the ill-paid labor of the missionary. That natives can become wealthy is another new idea; but in the Cameroons the black fellows are getting rich on cocoa. In 1890 the value of this delicacy exported from this region was only four pounds sterling. Twenty-five years later it had grown to more than three and a half million pounds. Apart from the labor of clearing the ground, a cocoa plantation needs little attention. Practically, writes Mr. Du Plessis, "all this money goes into the pockets of the natives," forgetting that the natives are ill provided with pockets. He notes that in Africa, as elsewhere and at all times, the getting of riches "creates an atmosphere in which the distinctively Christian virtues pine." Unflattering to our complacency as to the value of Western civilization is the discovery that the Africans view it, appraise it, and are not all immediately enchanted with it. For instance, a progressive colonizing government builds a beautiful modern highway between important points and enjoins on the natives living near and benefiting by it the duty of maintaining it. But soon the population disappears from the neighborhood. The natives do not desire either to use or keep up the road. They melt into the landscape, finding refuge in the impenetrable jungle. About the Tuburi lakes, Mr. Du Plessis found a terrestrial paradise. "The four tribes about this territory are not only exceedingly populous, but also industrious and intelligent to a degree not often seen in Africa." The Mundang have houses and granaries; the Lakka have learned the complicated chemistry of smelting and metallurgy; the Tuburi are horse-breeders; the Bana are successful agriculturists. "These people are self-contained; they are able to supply their own needs. They ask nothing of European civilization, thankful though they are that settled government prevails, and that slave-raiding is a thing of the past. They have no use for the prints and cloth goods which the trader seeks to introduce, for they belong to 'the great unclothed.' They do not want European implements and utensils, for their inbred conservatism makes them believe that their own are as good—and better. They have no call to lead the strenuous life, since nature is lavish, hunger uncommon, poverty unknown, and trade competition inconceivable. I do not think it is our duty to force them to look at life from our point of view. Why should we try to infect them with our feverish impatience and teach them that life is not life unless they learn to hurry and worry, to hustle and bustle, as we Westerners do?" Why, indeed?

Water Colors of Two Schools

Water Colour Painting. By Alfred W. Rich, Member of the New English Art Club. With 67 Illustrations. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company; London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.

Modern Water-Colour. Including Some Chapters on Current-Day Art. By Romilly Fedden. With Illustrations. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2 net.

BOTH of these books come to us from England, each is the production of a water-color painter who has attained to some reputation and has had some experience in teaching, and each is intended to be of practical service to the student of water-color painting. Yet they are radically opposed to each other in almost every line. Mr. Fedden tells us: "We may broadly assume that the usual system employed by the best exponents of modern water color is a direct application of color to wet paper, combined with an infinite variety of treatment, such as washing-out, pumice-stoning, sponging, scraping, etc." Mr. Rich says: "It is not a damp paper which the student requires to paint on, but an absolutely dry surface," and he warns the student to be "very careful to avoid the scrubbing and washing-out method, as such a process only tends to kill the brilliancy of a color, which being once used should never again be disturbed."

Mr. Fedden is more or less of an impressionist, and such of his own work as he reproduces has the minimum of subject and relies for its effect on the elaborate attempt to secure atmosphere. Mr. Rich is an adherent of the classical English method founded on the work of Girtin, Cotman, and De Wint; his work is full of drawing and composition and even of that "scenic interest" which is scorned of the true modern. Mr. Fedden tells his pupils: "Values, strength, and lost edges are the only things you have to think about." Mr. Rich is so determined to get the utmost out of the sharp edges of his washes that he says: "One of the earliest stumbling-blocks which will be encountered is a mass of color in touch with another of a different tone, as when a tree comes in front of a building or another tree of a different color. In such a case, I have always found that the best way is to allow a thin line of the dry paper to remain between the wet colors in juxtaposition. When all is dry, the dividing line of white can be filled in with either color."

Being an impressionist in his practice, Mr. Fedden is also impressionistic in his manner of teaching. His thin book of 115 pages begins with chapters on *The Growth of Modern Water-Colour*, *What Is a Good Picture?* etc., and it is only with the seventh chapter and the 91st page that it gets to *Methods and Materials*. Having thus used most of his volume for inculcating a point of view, he is inclined to let the student flounder with a minimum of specific direction. Mr. Rich begins at once with chapters on *Paper, Board, Easel, and The Colour-Box and Materials Generally*, and then proceeds from elementary instruction to the difficulties of complicated work from nature, disclaiming finality for his own methods, but not hesitating to give hints of what he has himself found useful, even to the naming of the particular mixtures of pigments for specific purposes. The illustrations of four stages of the progress of a drawing at Richmond, Yorkshire, should be invaluable to a student, and the drawing, as completed, is a remarkable example of how much may be done in an hour or two by a painter who knows his business and is working under excitement.

Apart from the question of which type of painting is the finer art, about which the present writer has no doubt, there can be no question as to which book affords the more practical instruction and advice.

Mr. Rich expands his volume by some thirteen chapters on *The Water-Colour Painter's Country*, containing an account of the parts of England in which he has found the best material for his art. These chapters, written in an agreeable and excursive manner, are, of course, not directly useful to the American student, but they are pleasant reading and afford occasion for the introduction of further illustrations and of instructive accounts of the methods of their production. Perhaps the most useful, and certainly the most beautiful, things in the book are the reproductions of the masterpieces of the old English water-color school.

Tropical Democracy

The Philippines. By Charles Burke Elliott. Two Volumes: To the End of the Military Régime, America Overseas; and To the End of the Commission Government, A Study in Tropical Democracy. Prefatory Note by Elihu Root. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$9.00.

MR. ROOT warns us, in his prefatory note to this substantial work, that "we have been losing rather than gaining in our knowledge of affairs in the Philippine Islands"; but if we are going to proceed on our theory of helping the Filipinos to acquire the art of self-government, it will require "knowledge and genuine interest and sympathy, and these qualities ought to characterize the relations of the people of this country to the people of the Philippine Islands." To one who recalls the dithyrambs chanted by fevered imperialists over the "pearls of the tropic seas," this matter-of-fact warning that our interest has flagged comes in the nature of an anti-climax.

It is clear enough from this fine book that, no matter what we went out after, what we brought back was the "white man's burden"; and the object of our author in writing seems to be to inform us soberly as to the best way to bear it. His presentation is, in general, an eloquent defence of the policy of the several Administrations preceding the present one; but, since he says comparatively little about the latter, his mood is, for the most part, one of complacency. Other nations have acquired colonial possessions with the idea of advantaging themselves thereby; but we have always had in mind the welfare of the peoples whom we have "freed."

To throw this, our unique attitude, into relief it was necessary only to recount, as a foil, the history of antecedent colonization. Mr. Elliott's first volume presents, by way of introduction, a useful condensed account of what other nations have done and left undone in the colonial field. What he gives here is based almost wholly upon reliable secondary sources. He has put together in an interesting way a great many facts and conclusions which appear but seldom between the covers of a single book. And it is not so very difficult, by the simple assembling of historic fact, to show that colonization has been pursued prevalently as a non-altruistic enterprise. No distortion of the truth is needful—no interpretation; it was precisely indifference to considerations other than material profit that characterized those traders who have formed the vanguard of far-flung empire. Thus "European states generally affect to ignore the question of

the political development of the native people because it involves the question of the permanency of their tenure. The United States has frankly put it in the forefront of the programme." Thus our policy is "almost unique in that its complete success requires the elimination of the metropolitan state from the situation. The modern theory of colonization leads logically to this conclusion, but the United States only has announced that complete self-government and ultimately an independent state is not only the incidental and possible result of its Philippine policy, but the direct object of its activities."

What, then, have we done to realize this unique object? To understand that it is needful first to get some conception of the country, its people, and its previous history. The treatment of these items is satisfactory, and due space and thought are accorded to the Spanish colonial system under which the Filipinos lived and moved up to the period of the American occupation. We are then provided with a judicious survey of the military and naval operations connected with the occupation and the rebellion of the insurgents, together with an enlightening comparison of the policies of the imperialists and their opponents. This section, leading up to the end of the military régime, and concluding Volume I, makes highly interesting reading and will recall to many a man a good deal about which he was much wrought up at the time, but which has largely fallen below his horizon with the march of the years.

The institution of the Commission Government really begins the experiment in "tropical democracy"—in educating the Filipino up to independence. If this is accomplished, the result will be as unique as the policy. For it can hardly be said that any tropical dependency has ever been developed into a stable and self-reliant state; as Mr. Elliott correctly notes, such regions have remained in the status of the protectorate or crown colony. The reviewer knows of no account of our doings in the islands that approaches the present one in completeness. Foreman's and Worcester's excellent volumes show strength in the historical and ethnographical departments that surpass Mr. Elliott's; but the work under review seems to be by all odds the best general survey for the layman who desires to inform himself as to the conditions existing as the result of our immixture in the destinies of the islanders.

We need not blush for ourselves on other grounds than those of inexperience and occasional foolishness resulting therefrom. On the whole, though one was opposed to keeping the islands in the first place, and has regretted it ever since, one cannot withhold, if he would, a tribute to the essential highmindedness of our attitude and doings there.

Contributors to this Issue

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD is editor of the *Nation* and president of the Evening Post Company.

MONTROSE J. MOSES, a New York dramatic and literary critic, is the editor of "Representative Plays by American Dramatists."

J. C. WALSH, for twelve years editor of the *Montreal Herald*, at the request of John Redmond established in New York the periodical, *Ireland*, to rally the Irish in America to uphold Mr. Redmond in supporting the prosecution of the war.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER is assistant curator of the classical department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Notes

AMONG the April publications of Frederick A. Stokes Company are the following: "Dere Mable—Love Letters of a Rookie," by Edward Streeter, and "The Boy's Military Manual," by Virgil D. Collins.

In the notable list of Lippincott's military publications the following volumes are included for publication this month: "The Principles of Scientific Management and Their Application to the Instruction and Training of Field Artillery," and the "Manual of Recruit Instruction for Field Artillery," both volumes by Major William Dunn, Field Artillery, N. A.

To-day Houghton Mifflin Company will publish "Oh, Money! Money!" by Eleanor H. Porter; "The Warfare of To-day," by Lieut.-Col. Paul Azan, translated by Major Julian Coolidge; and "The Melody of Earth: An Anthology of Garden and Nature Poems from Present-Day Poets," selected by Mrs. Waldo Richards.

Henry Holt & Company will publish shortly "Strayed Revellers," by Allan Updegraff; "American Railway Accounting," by Prof. Henry C. Adams; and "Organized Banking," by Prof. Eugene E. Agger.

THE Century Company announces for publication in the near future the following volumes: "The Firefly of France," by Marion Polk Angellotti; "Battering the Boche," by Preston Gibson; "The Woman Voter's Manual," by S. E. Forman and Marjorie Shuler, with an introduction by Carrie Chapman Catt; and "America After the War," by an American Jurist, who prefers to remain anonymous.

Harper & Brothers announce that they will publish immediately the following volumes: "Songs of the Shrapnel Shell," by Cyril Morton Horne; "Your Vote and How to Use It," by Mrs. Raymond Brown; "Miss Amerikanka," by Olive Gilbreath; "The Wings of Youth," by Elizabeth Jordan; "Outwitting the Hun," by Lieut. Pat O'Brien; "The Winning of the War," by Roland G. Usher; "Prayers for To-day," by Samuel McComb, D.D.

During the present month Charles Scribner's Sons will publish: "The Earthquake," by Arthur Train; "The Blue Grass Cook Book," by Minerva C. Fox, with an Introduction by John Fox, jr.; "France of To-day," by Barrett Wendell; "Over There," by Captain R. Hugh Knyvett; "The Flower of the Chapdelaines," by George W. Cable; "Credit of the Nations," by J. Laurence Laughlin; "The Airman and the Tramp," by Jennette Lee; "Only Possible Peace," by Frederic C. Howe; "Lincoln," by Justice R. M. Wanamaker; "Passing of the Great Race," by Madison Grant, revised edition, with new introduction by Henry Fairfield Osborn.

ANATIONAL appeal for £100,000 is being made for the founding of a permanent "Roehampton," for the sailors and soldiers who have lost their limbs in the war. Checks and postal orders should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, Queen Mary's Auxiliary Hospital, 12 Little College Street, Westminster, S. W., marked "Roehampton," and crossed Lloyd's Bank, 222, Strand.

THE line between poetry and prose wears thin in days when the former often suggests prose without the r.

William Butler Yeats, in the two essay-sketches put together under that most poetic title, "Per Amica Silentia Lunæ" (Macmillan; \$1.50), illustrates the opposite conditions. His prose is touched with the same wistful sensitiveness, the same quality of lyrical expression, that make him the typical Celtic poet. No subject has been more alluring to poets and philosophers than the contrasts that exist in a man's own nature, presented, for instance, in the mood that reacts to outside impressions and the mood that in lonely quiet judges, desires, creates. Thinking of life as a struggle with the Daimon that would ever set us to the hardest possible work, he comes to understand why there is deep enmity between a man and his destiny and why yet the man loves nothing but his destiny. He may keep his vision only at the cost of new disappointments, and even if in old age he dreams of peace and peaceful work, he will "climb to some waste room and find there, forgotten by youth, some bitter crust." This is the philosophy not only of a poet, but of one who has "the experienced heart" and has accepted life on its own terms. More personal and more curiously mystical is the second of these two brief essays; and it has an especial attraction for any one who has endeavored to pass in actual experience, however vaguely, the ordinary bounds that separate the world of daily life from the world unseen. In the intimacy of friendly converse, we believe not only in Mr. Yeats, but in his Daimon.

WARREN H. CUDWORTH has again striven for the unattainable, a translation of "The Odes and Secular Hymn of Horace" (Knopf; \$1.50 net), and has come within laudable distance of the goal. His plan is to turn all the odes of the same metre into one English form, choosing for this the nearest equivalent in rhythm and measure. From the following specimen the reader may see for himself how near Mr. Cudworth has come to the Horatian combination of grace and gravity:

Scant homage to the gods I gave
While senseless sapience was my creed;
Now back I sail across the wave
And of my former course take heed.

For tho' full often Father Jove
Rives clouds with flashing bolts from far,
Just now athwart the blue he drove
His thundering steeds and rapid car.

The stable land, the gliding streams,
Styx, Atlas, earth's extremest bound,
And hated Taenarus' grisly seams,
Still shudder at the fearsome sound.

God lifts the low, casts down the high,
Abases pride, makes rich the poor;
Oft Fate on whirling vans will fly,
Depose the king, and crown the boor.

IN the "Catalogue of Thirty-five Hundred Books for Children" (Wilson; \$6) Corinne Bacon has compiled an assortment of juvenilia for all kinds of democratic taste: a reference book for the shopper, the librarian, and the teacher. It presupposes a knowledge of what one wants before consulting this handbook; by consulting it, one finds where to get it, and in what edition. Taken as a comprehensive catalogue, with some expert elimination, it will be of great service. The best is here among juvenile books, but it has to be dug out.

MOST Americans have known Trotsky only as the man who overnight exchanged a little flat in The Bronx for the Smolny Institute. To such his little book, "Our Revolution" (Holt; \$1.25 net), translated by Moissaye J. Olgin, will come as a surprise. Mr. Olgin's brief biographical sketch pictures Trotsky's twenty years of revolutionary work, interrupted by two periods of imprisonment and Siberian exile. It indicates the not unimportant part that its hero took in the revolution of 1905, and shows how his experience had prepared him for the leading rôle he has played in the tragic drama of 1917-18. This sketch of his life serves as a basis for the outline of his thinking, presented in the form of a more or less connected series of translations of his writings, published at various times from 1904 to 1917. His ideas are simple, and differ from orthodox Marxism essentially in the theory of immediate transition from absolutism to a Socialist order. Such a theory, of course, was called for by Russian conditions, if the revolutionary hope was to be kept alive; for no revolutionist could wait patiently for the slow economic ripening in Russia demanded by the pure Marxian gospel. From the standpoint of one concerned with immediate forcible revolutions, Trotsky despises the peasants and hates the liberals. All his hope is in the city proletarians, and his book is taken up with an examination of their function and with the technique of their organization for the ever-impending revolution, which they alone are capable of making a reality. No thoughtful person can read the book without realizing afresh the manner in which autocracy and repression play into the hands of violent social change, or without reflecting how foreign is the whole range of Trotsky's ideas and theories to the conditions that face us in the United States after three hundred years of democratic political development. For this very reason, and not because its author happens to have played a striking part in the great Russian tragedy, this little book will be found useful by that growing number of persons who are trying to understand what is happening in Russia to-day. "History," says Trotsky, "is a tremendous mechanism serving our ideals." Russian history during recent years may indeed be used to illustrate some of his formulas, but that fact does not give to such formulas universal validity. Possibly American history may even serve our ideals instead of Trotsky's.

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PROF. CHRISTOPHE NYROP, of the University of Copenhagen, does not answer directly the question, "Is War Civilization?" which he chooses as the title of his book (Dodd, Mead & Co.; \$1.25 net), and he disclaims any intention of discussing the question theoretically. What he offers, rather, is a collection of fifteen essays or pen-pictures, dealing more or less directly with both the theoretical and the practical effects of war upon the material, political, and intellectual conceptions of civilization and human progress. Especially interesting are the first chapter, in which Maupassant's protest against war is contrasted with the opinions of von Moltke; the sketches of Belgium past and present; the analysis of the manifesto of the German professors; the discussions of annexationist programmes and of Italy under the yoke; the influence of war upon language; and the dark outlook for an intellectual *rapprochement*, such as Gaston Paris labored for in his day, between Germany and the France and Italy which it has now assailed. The literary quality of Professor Nyrop's pages is high, and the translation, by H. G. Wright, is to be commended.

THE lay reader has become fairly conversant with the strategic and political phases of the Near and Middle Eastern problem through the utterances of diplomats and generals and a mass of well-prepared literature. The Bagdad railroad has been mentioned by President Wilson, and though little is known of its recent technical progress or the part it has played in military operations, yet its political relation to Mesopotamia in the Pan-German programme is fairly well understood. Hakluyt said of geography and chronology that they are "the sun and moon, the right eye and the left of all history." Prof. Edwyn Bevan's "The Land of the Two Rivers" (Longmans, Green; \$1 net) successfully covers the geography and chronology of the ancient Assyrian, Babylonian, and Sassanian empires. The chapters are short and pithy, the narrative is swift and clear, the language simple. There are few handy and simple histories of these early empires that are free from the clash of theory; the lay reader hears "great argument" between various pundits on technical points; one could almost wish that the romantic, if inaccurate, gloss of the Arab historian were available. Professor Bevan is careful of our needs. He has sketched simply and effectively the historical and ethnical backgrounds down to the rise of Islam. The concluding chapter on the Influence of Hellenism in Islam is typical of the ease with which a scholar may interpret for the lay reader. Throughout the little book the chronological strands are skilfully interwoven. We are reminded that the press erroneously applies the term Mesopotamia to the terrain between the lower Euphrates and Tigris, anciently known as Babylonia, and familiar to the Arab as Irāk. Professor Bevan confines Mesopotamia to its classical boundary.

DURING a residence at a Bush station in the Gold Coast Colony, Frederick William Hugh Migeod travelled about the country in an attempt to reconstruct, through his observations on its wild animals and men, the early history of mankind. Limited by his mode of life to but few books, in his little treatise "Earliest Man" (Dutton; \$1.50 net), he refers only casually to the vast literature of his subject. Mr. Migeod bases his argument upon the assumed mentality of man and his ancestors at successive stages of development. Following a brief introduction, the author's conjectural story is unfolded in seven chapters, under such headings as Primary

Instincts, Proto-man, Progress in the Arts, Origin of Speech, and Social Organization. Though written in a rather arid style, in all these chapters, especially those dealing with the rise of the arts and of speech, the reader will find many ingenious ideas and suggestive arguments. The author, however, too often assumes what cannot be readily granted, and is inclined to laxity in the use of terms; thus he confuses "art" and "instinct," "instincts" and "ideas," and assumes that arts, once acquired, may become inherited instincts. The reader is occasionally surprised by such curious statements as this: "It is usually, if not invariably, the case that each species of living thing has one art and one alone." Observing that mankind are gregarious and social like the monkeys and baboons, while other primates are inclined to solitude, the author seeks for that binding force which thus early brought mankind together. This leads to a consideration of pack law, or the conditions of leadership, and he concludes that animals "follow the one that takes their fancy most: and so new tribes are formed." Though recognizing that some dominant quality is necessary, the author quite misses the point that leadership invariably goes to the individual with the keenest instincts or the sharpest powers of response, and that in higher animals the keener intelligence is likely to win over instinct. The author concludes: "As we have endeavored to trace the physical development of man from the lower creatures, so we have also endeavored to trace the origin of his tribal and religious organizations; and from the reaction of what were to him supernatural agencies on his capacity for tribal organization, an instinct inherited from the lower creatures also, has arisen social life in all its ramifications."

THERE is no reason why a dressmaker should not write a book and make it interesting—if she has the mind to. Evidently Franzisca, Baroness von Hedemann, has not. In "Love Stories of Court Beauties" (Doran; \$3 net) the chances at least were in her favor. No doubt, as she boasts, she is the "first *modiste* to attempt an autobiographical record of her pursuit of the art of dressmaking"; her memories go as far back as Paris in the days of the Third Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie; to her, as the well-known Frédéric in London, royalties and the élite of the English aristocracy flocked. Her English career ended in adventure, the war closing her establishment and sending her out of the country because, she explains, her late husband was of the German House of Hanover, though it is not quite clear why a mere baroness should have to go while the head of the house and his family remain. It is when it comes to profiting by her chances that the Baroness fails. She is so dazzled on the shining heights to which she has climbed that she seems to think and certainly writes only in superlatives. She moves through a world that is "a riot of beauty and splendour," where royalties are "supremely graceful"; men "reckless and daring," and women "picturesquely and superbly gowned"; and all these wonderful people live and breathe in "a brilliant, suffocating, perfume-laden atmosphere of extravagance." The love stories she sets out to write get too hopelessly entangled in the mysteries of millinery for the intended thrill to survive, even in the jealousies of the impeccable Queen Victoria and her daughter, the Empress Frederick, even in passages raked up from the past of those paragons of virtue, Prince Albert the Good and Queen Alexandra. This is a very foolish book, hardly worth serious criticism.

Drama

Ibsen and Common-Sense

TO produce Ibsen with laughter is a rare achievement in the theatre. Confirmed anti-Ibsenites, who insist that gloom and pessimism are inevitable characteristics of an Ibsen performance, and one-sided Ibsenites, who persist in taking their pleasures sadly, are alike amazed to find that the one striking characteristic of Mr. Arthur Hopkins's production of "The Wild Duck" at the Plymouth Theatre is its strain of genuine humor, to which intellectuals and philistines pay equal tribute in laughter. Mysticism, symbolism, and all implied philosophy of life are relegated to their proper place in the background, while this satiric tragi-comedy stands forth as an amazingly good acting play, in which every character works out his destiny with supreme fidelity to life.

In its first presentation in English in New York—although written in 1884, the play has been given here only in the German Theatre—the sympathetically human aspects of "The Wild Duck" are stressed rather than its caustic irony, with the result that the performance is of engrossing interest, although only two of its characters are likable, and its prevailing atmosphere is unmistakably drab. In satirizing life's illusions, the ideals of truth-telling and self-sacrifice at all costs, and his own earlier attacks on smug hypocrisy in the character of Gregers Werle, the mistaken reformer, whose mission in life it is "to uphold the claims of the ideal," Ibsen has baffled his devotees by defending the claims of common-sense against doctrinaire idealism. In "A Doll's House" he showed the evils of a marriage founded on comfortable materialism without spiritual affinity; in "Ghosts" he attacked marriage for uselessly sacrificing individuals to a false ideal of family life. Here he presents the obverse side of his shield, and seems to caricature himself and to scoff at his own creations by showing a contented family circle shattered and a sensitive child driven to suicide as the result of a meddling idealist's insistence on telling the truth at the wrong time. He is a pragmatist whose mouth-piece, Dr. Relling, declares it best for those whose happiness is founded on illusion to remain in their fool's paradise, since they are not strong enough to face the truth. The ordinary human being cannot live without his "life-lie," and "illusion is the stimulating principle," says the ironic doctor.

But Mr. Hopkins has happily subordinated all these favorite Ibsen doctrines to the characters, and the tragedy of disenchantment becomes a comedy of character as well, with little Hedvig's pathetic life and tragic death as the centralizing element. By his intelligence and insight, the producer has effected a balanced whole, harmonizing the performance and developing the dramatic action so clearly that the meaning ceases to be bewildering. In the hands of his company all the principal rôles and most of the minor ones are consistent interpretations, not merely superficial renderings of stage types. And what extraordinary acting opportunities are offered in these small souls, these petty bourgeois of a shabby little world who live by their sheer vitality and naturalism! Failures all of them, shot through the wing, like Hedvig's wild duck, they go lamely limping through life, happy in their little back-water until the blundering Gregers stirs them up. Back of them one feels the great personality of the author, whose art, like Rem-

brandt's, illumines the sordid and transfigures the ugly.

Hjalmar Ekdal is, of course, one of the best acting parts in all modern drama, and Mr. Lionel Atwill has done very well in realizing this "shopgirl's ideal of manly beauty," as Ibsen bitingly calls him, this vain, selfish, attitudinizing egotist, the dilettante posing as a martyr, whose chief concern it is to maintain his own comfort and a correct attitude. As the play progresses, Mr. Atwill overacts the part by warming too much to the appreciative laughter of the audience, and making the inflated speeches of the handsome windbag a trifle too obvious. But in endowing this Norwegian Narcissus with the charm that so often commands undying loyalty and affection, he makes comprehensible Gina's unfailing devotion and Hedvig's passionate love. As Gregers Werle, the fatuous egotist from principle, Mr. Harry Mestayer fails to suggest the visionary quality in this professional idealist, but he is happier in conveying the obstinate prepossession of the reformer, with his flat-footed insistence on telling the story of Gina's past to her contented husband. Miss Amy Veness makes Gina, one of the most life-like characters in all Ibsen, a solid piece of Mother Earth, though she misses her racy quality and rather underemphasizes the vulgarity and matter-of-fact common-sense of that "waddling" housewife. Gina's scattered malapropisms, too, go for little, but the famous speech, "That's what comes when crazy people go about making the claims of the what-d'yer-call-it," strikes home to every sympathetic heart.

Madame Alla Nazimova's Hedvig is only a qualified success. The part is not a "star" part, and Madame Nazimova naturally overaccentuates some of its theatric values. The loving, sensitive little Norwegian girl—surely Ibsen's most pathetic child character—in this interpretation becomes a neurotic. In mere externals the actress is remarkably successful in suggesting the fourteen-year-old girl, with the quick, skipping steps, the childish gestures, the nearsighted peering about natural to the part; but the straight black "bobbed" hair, forever falling into the face and half hiding the expressive features, must be considered a mistake. Madame Nazimova errs, too, in adopting a monotonous, mewling tone from the first, so that there is too little contrast between the gay Hedvig of everyday life and the heartbroken child who kills herself to prove her love for her pompous father.

This is Mr. Hopkins's first venture into Ibsenia, that land of fog and shadow whose light no commentator has yet been able to obscure. He now promises us revivals of "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," "Hedda Gabler," and "The Master Builder." In view of his accomplishment in "The Wild Duck," we may serenely look forward to seeing Ibsen's masterly working out of life's problems in these plays and his remarkable craftsmanship emphasized by intelligent stage management in production and acting.

M. C. D.

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Finance

The Plan to Aid Industry

AMONG the many considerations, some of them very indefinite, which contributed to the strength of the stock market during the past week, there was one which was quite positively identified among brokers and bankers as a helpful influence. This was the War Finance Corporation bill, passed by the Senate the week previous, and later reported to the House in considerably altered form. Yet Wall Street itself, in the hurry of the day's work, had failed to master the measure in all its complicated details. What interest rate would the War Finance Corporation's bonds bear? At what rate would that corporation lend to borrowers? Under what circumstances could individuals secure advances? How would the Reserve banks go about rediscounting the Corporation's paper? These were questions repeatedly asked in the financial district.

The bill, as reported to the House by the Ways and Means Committee, laid down very specific directions on all these points. Advances were authorized to any banking institutions which had, since April 6, 1917, made a loan to a person or firm engaged in "essential industry." Such loans might be either direct (evidenced by the note of the borrowing person or firm) or indirect (evidenced by bonds or other obligations). The advances to be made under this provision are to be for not more than 75 per cent. of the note of the borrowing person or corporation, or 75 per cent. of the market value of the bonds.

Any banking institution securing an advance under these terms is to be required to give its own promissory note for the amount, secured by the notes of its customers or the bonds of the corporation engaged in "essential industry." If, in addition to these notes and bonds, the banking institution holds other collateral, securing these notes or bonds, this also must be surrendered.

No interest rates are specified on such loans, which may be for periods not exceeding five years. A banking institution may borrow up to 100 per cent. of the amount it has loaned a customer, or 100 per cent. of the market value of the bonds which are to be the basis of the Finance Corporation's loan, provided it deposits in addition acceptable collateral to the extent of 33 per cent. of the advance to be secured.

Provisions for loans to savings banks and other savings institutions are interesting. These loans may be made for a period of a year, secured by 133 per cent. collateral. The policy to guide the Corporation in making the advances is to be its conviction that they are "necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war or important in the public interest." The rate of interest is specified; it is to be not less than 1 per cent. in excess of the rate charged by the local Reserve Bank for the discount of ninety-day paper.

In exceptional cases, according to the bill, advances may be made directly to individuals, firms, corporations, etc., in case they are unable to obtain funds through banking channels or from the general public. Such loans may run for five years. It is specified that loans under this section may at no time exceed 16 2-3 per cent. of the Corporation's paid-in capital, plus the amount of its bonds authorized to be outstanding. In this case, too, interest is to be at a rate at least 1 per cent. above that of the Reserve Bank for ninety-day paper.

No interest rate is specified on the Corporation's own bonds, of which there may be outstanding an amount four times as great as the paid-in capital. Interest rates are to be determined by the board of directors, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, who is ex-officio a member of the directorate.

The House bill makes striking changes in the provisions under which the Reserve Banks may handle the Corporation's bonds. The Senate measure had authorized the banks to deal in the bonds in the same way as they deal in United States bonds and notes. The House Committee has stricken this out, leaving only the provision that the Reserve Banks may discount paper secured by the Corporation's bonds, but under the usual provisions as to maturity (that is, such paper must mature within ninety days). The discount rate is to be 1 per cent. above that for the corresponding maturity of commercial paper; and before notes secured by the Corporation's bonds may be discounted, the Reserve Bank must be satisfied that the borrowing bank has not on hand the required amount of eligible commercial paper. Circulating notes may be issued against paper secured by the Corporation's bonds, but a special interest charge may be levied by the Board against such circulation.

A provision tucked away at the end of the bill, without apparent relevance, provides that "no stamp or tax shall be required or imposed upon a promissory note secured by the pledge of bonds or obligations of the United States issued since April 24, 1917, the par value of which shall equal the amount of such note." Apparently, this affords an escape for the members of the Reserve system from the tax of 2 cents per \$100 levied on collateral notes discounted by the Reserve Banks—a tax which rendered prohibitive the use of "one-day advances," which had been common during the flotation of the Government loans and Treasury certificates.

S. P. HARMAN

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

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- Fuller, H. B. *On the Stairs*. Houghton Mifflin. \$1.50 net.
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 Hine, M. *The Best in Life*. Lane. \$1.50 net.
 Jacks, L. P. *The Country Air*. Henry Holt. \$1.25.
 Nexö, M. A. *Pelle the Conqueror*. Two volumes. Translated by Jessica Muir and Bernard Míall. Holt. \$2 net.
 Ollivant, A. *Boy Woodburn*. Doubleday, Page. \$1.40 net.
 Phillpotts, E. *Chronicles of St. Tid*. Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Richmond, G. S. *The Enlisting Wife*. Doubleday, Page. 50 cents net.
The Best Stories of 1917. Edited by E. J. O'Brien. Small, Maynard. \$1.50 net.
 Wells, C. *Vicky Van*. J. B. Lippincott. \$1.35 net.
 Weston, G. *The Apple-Tree Girl*. J. B. Lippincott. \$1 net.
 White, S. E. *Simba*. Doubleday, Page. \$1.40 net.

MISCELLANEOUS

- American Year Book, 1917. Edited by F. G. Wickware. Appleton. \$3 net.
 Anonymous. *A War Nurse's Diary*. Macmillan. \$1.25.
 Carter, H. *The Control of the Drink Trade*. Longmans, Green. \$2.50 net.
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RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

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 Ladd, G. T. *The Secret of Personality*. Longmans, Green. \$1.50 net.
 Mackenzie, J. S. *Elements of Constructive Philosophy*. Macmillan. \$3.50.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

- Calhoun, A. W. *A Social History of the American Family*. Vol. II. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark.
 Conlin, J. A. *Income and Federal Tax Reports*. Prentice-Hall. \$3.
 Curtis, E. N. *The French Assembly of 1848 and American Constitutional Doctrines*. Longmans, Green. \$3.
 Schlesinger, A. M. *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776*. Longmans, Green. \$4.
 Trotzky, L. *Our Revolution*. Translated by M. J. Olgin. Holt. \$1.25 net.

POETRY

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 Smith, M. C. *The Final Star*. James T. White. \$1.25 net.
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 White, J. T. *A Garden of Remembrance*. James T. White. \$1.25 net.

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- Cobb, E. *Garden Steps*. Silver, Burdett. 60 cents.
 Hall, A. D. *The Book of the Rothamstead Experiments*. Dutton. \$4 net.

MUSIC AND DRAMA

- Herbert, H. *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-73*. Edited by J. Q. Adams. Yale University Press. \$2.50 net.
 Moses, M. J. *Representative Plays by American Dramatists*. Dutton. \$3.

ART

- Cascales y Muñoz, J. *Francisco de Zurbarán*. Translated by Nellie Seelye Evans. Privately printed. F. F. Sherman. \$10.

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- Ball, A. E. *A Year with the Birds*. Dodd, Mead. \$3 net.
 Finnemore, J. *The Wolf Patrol*. Macmillan. \$1.50.

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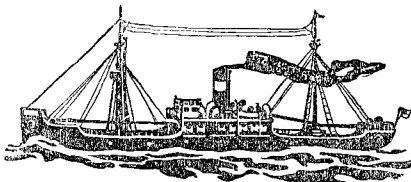
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Summary of the News

JAPAN'S intervention in Siberia has not yet been decided upon, and the international situation continues delicate. The failure of President Wilson to give his assent to the project and his reassertion of sympathy with Russia in his message to the Congress of Soviets on March 14 indicate America's attitude in placing the interests of Russia's new democracy before others. England, on the other hand, through her Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Balfour, has expressed complete confidence in Japan's loyalty, and European opinion seems to favor Japan's immediate action without further conditions. It has been suggested that Chinese and anti-Bolshevist Russian forces accompany the Japanese in their advance. Meanwhile, fighting is reported from Harbin, and the Bolsheviks have defeated the Cossack leader, Gen. Semenoff, who has retreated into Manchuria. The situation in Siberia is developing favorably for the Bolsheviks and 50 per cent. of the Manchurian railway employees have now joined the Bolshevik party there.

RUSSIA'S peace with Germany was ratified at Moscow on March 14 by the representatives of the Russian people in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets by a vote of 453 to 30. President Wilson's message of sympathy to the Russian people, in which he regretted that the Government of the United States could not render direct aid at present, was read and the Congress immediately adopted a resolution expressing "its appreciation to the American people, and first of all to the laboring and exploited classes in the United States, for the message sent by President Wilson." Lenine urged that the treaty be ratified and carried out for the time being on the plea that Russia would thus gain time to restore order and economic security.

THE Russian Revolution celebrated its first anniversary on March 11. Since March 11, 1917, Russia has gone far and passed through many phases. The autocracy under the Czar was ended by the establishment of a bourgeois government under Prince Lvoff, recognized by the United States on March 22. Then followed the Kerensky régime, and on September 15 Russia was proclaimed a republic. On November 7 the Radical Bolshevik government came into power, with Lenine, Trotzky, and Krylenko in command. On December 15 an armistice between Russia and Germany was signed at Brest-Litovsk, on December 23 peace negotiations were begun, on March 3 peace was signed, and on March 14 the Congress of Soviets ratified this peace. Chaotic conditions due to economic and political causes have necessarily continued through the first year of Russia's violent social upheaval.

GERMANY'S advance in the Ukraine to Odessa and the restoration of the Caucasus to Turkey have made available all the stores of grain and oil in these regions. With Odessa fallen and Batum in the hands of the Central Powers, the Black Sea becomes their lake, providing a rail route from Batum on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian. In addition to the resources of bread and oil opened up, the Central Powers have thus nullified the loss of Bagdad by opening a way for a flank attack on the British forces in Pales-



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tine. The route to India through Persia also lies open before them in the future, and England's knowledge of this danger explains her desire for Japan's immediate armed intervention in Russian Siberia. Turkey is continuing to recover her losses of the early years of the war. Erzerum, the principal city of Turkish Armenia, southeast of Trebizond, has been retaken by the Turks, and Turkish troops have occupied the entire Baku region in the Caucasus. Baku, near the southern end of the Caspian Sea, is the centre of one of the greatest petroleum districts in the world. In Turkestan fierce battles between the natives and adherents of the Soviets are reported unofficially, with more than 20,000 casualties. Peace has cut Rumania off from the Allies. Rumanian oil fields are to be ceded territorially to Hungary, but are to be administered under a joint German, Austro-Hungarian, Rumanian, and Bulgarian board. Members of the American and Allied missions to Rumania have left the temporary capital, Jassy, for Odessa, under safe conduct of King Ferdinand of Rumania.

DUTCH ships in Allied ports will be taken over by the United States and Great Britain for the use of the Allies, by official action. Negotiations have been going on for some time, as the Dutch Government demanded that her ships be used only outside the danger zone, and Great Britain, owing to her immediate needs, did not accede to this agreement. The amount of tonnage made available to the Allies is 1,000,000 tons, of which 70 per cent. is now in American ports, 15 per cent. in British, and 15 per cent. in other Allied ports. The legal basis for this forcible seizure is the *lex angaria*, under which a belligerent nation may use neutral tonnage if compensation is paid.

AIR raids and general aerial activity have increased in number and violence during the past week. German airplanes attacked Paris twice; the more important raid took place on the night of March 11, "in retaliation for enemy aerial attacks on March 9 and 10 on Stuttgart, Esslingen, Untertürkheim, and Mainz," according to Berlin. Nine squadrons, comprising nearly 60 units, dropped bombs on the city, killing 34 persons and injuring 79. In addition, 66 were killed through suffocation by crowding in a panic into the Metropolitan Railway. Four German planes were lost, and 15 aviators, mechanics, and pilots killed or captured. In England, Hull was bombed on March 12, and Hartlepool, the North Sea port in northern England, on March 13. Zeppelins were again employed in both these attacks for the first time in several months. In Italy, Naples was attacked on March 11, 16 people being killed and 40 wounded. Col. Winston Churchill, Minister of Munitions, has claimed Allied superiority in the air, and cited the bombing of interior German towns by daylight as proof. On March 11 the British bombed Coblenz, a town on the Rhine of 50,000 inhabitants; on March 9 they attacked Mainz, and on March 13 Freiburg in the Black Forest. In addition bombing raids were made on the docks at Bruges and on ammunition depots northeast of St. Quentin and east of Lens.

FIGHTING on the western front continues lively, but engagements are of minor importance. In the American sector, near Toul, our troops, after an ar-

tillery bombardment of 45 minutes, entered the German sector and brought back much material. On March 16 the Germans entered the American positions and took some prisoners. East of Lunéville American patrols occupied and held enemy trenches, marking the first permanent advance by the American army in France. The French report an attack by a German raiding party in Champagne, with violent bombardment in the region of Monts, where the Germans took 90 prisoners. West of Monte Cornille, in the Champagne region, the French have regained trenches lost on March 1. On the British front, the British report successful raids with capture of prisoners near Lens, Passchendaele, and southeast of the Polygon Wood in the Ypres sector.

THE seriousness of the tonnage situation is increasing, as shipping and submarine losses continue unabated. For the third time in three weeks the British Admiralty on March 13 reported the week's loss by mine or submarine as 18 merchantmen, 15 of these over and 3 under 1,600 tons. One fishing vessel also was lost. The French lost four vessels under 1,600 tons, and the Italians two over 1,500 tons and one under. The prime factor in the war for the next six months will be sea power, mercantile and naval, and unrest due to fear lest building may not equal sinkings is felt in Great Britain. Rear-Admiral Francis T. Bowles, assistant manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, reported on March 11 that shipyards of the Atlantic seaboard were lagging in their production of cargo ships. Reduction in ship timber sizes used for wooden ships in the South was authorized by the Shipping Board to hasten construction. On the Pacific Coast the world's largest reinforced concrete ship was launched successfully on March 14.

FINANCIAL news of the week includes measures for acquiring the sinews of war. German holdings in this country, including the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American piers and other possessions of her merchant marine, are to be sold at auction, following a vote of the Senate. London has raised \$500,000,000 for the war. The United States has just extended a war credit of \$200,000,000 to Great Britain and \$15,000,000 to Cuba, both loans at the new interest rate of 5 per cent. Italy's fifth war loan, closing on March 11, reached \$1,000,000,000. The total of loans extended to the Allied Governments now amounts to \$4,949,400,000, distributed as follows: Great Britain, \$2,520,000,000; France, \$1,440,000,000; Italy, \$550,000,000; Russia, \$325,000,000, of which only \$187,000,000 has been paid out; Belgium, \$93,400,000; Serbia, \$6,000,000; and Cuba, \$15,000,000.

IRELAND'S parliamentary leader is now John Dillon, unanimously elected chairman of the Nationalist party to succeed the late John Redmond. Dillon in the past expressed outspoken condemnation of British errors in Ireland in 1916, and declared for immediate administration by home rule in Ireland. He has now announced that his first task will be to tell England that she must put her house in order and set Ireland free before she can urge the claims of other small nations. Disorders in Ireland between the Sinn Feiners and the police continue, culminating in a riot in Belfast on Saturday night that lasted four hours and caused many casualties.